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KREISKY INTERVIEWED ON ARAB, MIDEAST PROBLEMS

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 1 Sep 79 p 15

[Interview with Dr Bruno Kreisky, Austria's Chancellor, by Ibrahim Abu-Nab; "Kreisky: It Is Possible to Solve Palestinian Issue in 3 Years; Entire World Now Acknowledges That PLO Represents Palestinians; Lebanese Problem Is Not Separate and We Must Discuss Problems of Four Political Entities: Jordan, Lebanon, Palestinain Entity and Israel"]

[Text] Austrian Chancellor Dr Bruno Kreisky told me when I went to interview him at his office in the chancellery, which is tantamount to the council of ministers, that he could sit with me for a very short time because of his being very busy on that day, Friday, the 24th of last month.

Almost the entire state was busy with th U.N. conference for the employment of science and technology to serve development which was attended by 5,000 participants from all countries. One day before our meeting, Kreisky inaugurated the new buildings of the United Nations in Vienna which cost the city one billion dollars and which were leased to the United Nations at a symbolic rent of one Austrian shilling annually. Kreisky was under the international spotlights and three television teams from Europe and America were waiting to interview him.

I talked to Dr Kreisky and when the interview ended under the urgent demands of his other engagements, I discovered that the interview had lasted twice the time set for it at the beginning.

[Question] I began the interview with Kreisky with the following story, saying: We in our Arab countries recount this story about a cat which used to kill a mouse every day. So the mice held a conference to discuss the problem and one of them said: There is no solution better than hanging a bell around the cat's neck so that every time the cat approaches to attack the mice, they can hear it and run away. The mice thought that this solution was excellent but the problem was...

[Answer] Kreisky interrupted me to say: Who would hang the bell?

[Question] I said: Exactly. This is the problem. From what we have read about you in our country, you seem to us to have enough courage to try to hang the bell in Europe.

#### Story of Meeting With 'Abd-al-Nasir

Naturally, we were talking about the Palestinian issue and the Mideast crisis without direct reference to either. Kreisky understood what was meant and said:

[Answer] It is a good story. As far as I am concerned, it is true because I have created a big uproar in Europe and I have always created uproar since I went to meet Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, the late Egyptian president, 10 years ago. I provoked many people here in Europe with that action of mine.

Insofar as I am concerned, I must say that this issue is not connected mainly with the oil problem because I started my efforts long ago and when the oil price was of no significance other than to those engaged in the oil industry. The price was important to the companies and to the refineries but not to us as consumers.

I met 'Abd-al-Nasir, as I have already said, when going to Cairo was not at all encouraged in Europe, contrary to the present time when going to it is popular and common among the European politicians. I was perhaps the first European foreign minister to go there. This is why the oil issue does not constitute a factor in my case. I am an old socialist democrat, I learned a lot in Karl Marx's school and I know that the economic facts are not usually tied to ethics and moral principles. Therefore, I believe that if the Middle East problem is solved suddenly tomorrow in some way, this solution will not affect the oil price equation.

There are two important aspects for me in this issue, namely that there is an existing problem in this regard and I, as a human being and a socialist, wish to overcome human suffering wherever it exists in the world. The second aspect is that this problem constitutes a danger to world peace, to European peace and to detente because the major powers are involved in it. As a political human being engaged in politics, I support finding a solution for this problem.

As for the oil issue, there is one aspect, namely that this issue has made the politicians and others and the public opinion more sensitive to the problem. To return to the story of the bell, I have tried as hard as I can to ring the bell. For 20 years, I have been talking about the need to find a peaceful solution to the Mideast problem.

[Question] Do you think that you have achieved success, Mr Chancellor?

[Answer] I believe that after nearly a quarter century of active work in politics, I have developed the ability to judge whether success has

been achieved or not. I am deeply convinced that enormous and important success has been achieved. I can give you three proofs of the soundness of this statement.

#### Palestinians and Right to Self-Determination

[Question] Let us hear them.

[Answer] First, the Palestinians were present, but not to the world public opinion. I remember a conversation with Golda Meir, it was more of a sharp argument than a conversation, which took place when I presented my viewpoint and she posed the question to the leaders of the socialist parties. Their answer was that there were no Palestinians. There are Arabs but there are no Palestinians.

Today, nobody doubts that the Palestinians are present and that their presence is recognized.

Second, the presence of the Palestinians as a people with their private entity, and who must therefore have their rights, is recognized. In the equation that says that all the aspects of the Palestinian problem must be solved, it is meant that the solution must include the Palestinian rights.

[Question] Do you mean by rights their right to establish their own state also?

[Answer] I said a week ago when President Carter stated that he does not favor the establishment of a Palestinian state--I said with utter cordiality that we the politicians abroad are not here to create states as states because we have enough states. I understood from this [President Carter's statement] that he does not wish to be the founder of [another] state. Therefore, I prefer the formula that says that what we should struggle for is the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. They are then free as to what to do with their future. This is my answer.

As to whether they get their own state, be with another Arab state or establish a confederation with Israel, all this is something that should be negotiable and it will be negotiable if the fundamental principle, namely the principle of the right to self-determination, is recognized.

[Question] When you say the Palestinians, do you mean by this all the Palestinians who were Palestinians before 1948?

[Answer] I mean by the Palestinians those Palestinians who view themselves as Palestinians. If there is anybody who insists that he is a Palestinian, then he should have that right. I am not called upon to put borders [demarcation lines] between them.

[Question] Sorry for interrupting you. You said that there are three proofs of the progress in the Palestinian issue. What is the third proof?

[Answer] The third proof is that the world is more aware, and its awareness is still rising, that the PLO is the Palestinian people's representative. There is an escalating conviction in this regard. Anything else is impossible at present. Here is another way of talking about the method of Shimon Perez who says that the Palestinians are subjected to the pressure and threats of the PLO: Let the Palestinians say what they want and choose what they want.

The Israelis have no right whatsoever to decide who is the representative of the Palestinian people. This choice is not their right. This is the right of the Palestinians and it must belong to them. Isn't it so?

[Question] Yes.

[Answer] This is why I am more optimistic, as you see. This in itself is a good result for the present. Add to this that the United States cannot disregard the problem as it used to in the past.

Andrew Young and U.S. Jews

[Question] What is your opinion of the recent uproar created with Andrew Young's resignation?

[Answer] It has awakened a sleeping seditio. It will do no more than make matters worse. The strugglers of the civil rights movement are now mobilized and all this indicates nothing but more problems for Israel. I truly believe that involvement in the internal affairs of the United States was far from being sound. The relationship between a ministry of foreign affairs and its ambassador is the concern of the ministry alone. This is what the Israelis should have been told, in my opinion. Our ambassadors are our ambassadors and if they commit some mistake, then we must deal with it.

I, also, was minister of foreign affairs and prime minister. We must defend an ambassador like Andrew Young and in a position like his position.

[Question] Don't you think that the Israelis have interfered in the U.S. domestic affairs?

[Answer] I do not know. I do not want to say this because I am also being accused by the Israelis of interfering in their domestic affairs. No, but we are all U.N. members and we are always called upon to participate in making decisions. This is why we must say what we believe.

[Question] Don't you believe that Israel's rebellion and its permanent insistence on getting what it wants without any consideration for the interests of others pose a danger to the Jews in the United States and other places and may create a reaction against them?

[Answer] I don't know exactly or I am not familiar with what is going on inside the U.S. Jewish community. But I feel ever more strongly that there is a split in their [U.S. Jews] loyalty. Many prominent Americans of the Jewish faith are in the center of this split because they want to give their loyalty to the U.S. administration, to the U.S. president and to his policies but Begin always demands their loyalty to him. This is not the way to keep the community united. The community itself will split.

[Question] This is becoming clearer now.

[Answer] Yes, this is becoming more and more obvious and will continue to do so. The Jewish community in the entire world may be split. Look at Nahum Goldman who is now expressing his willingness to meet with Fatah. He has congratulated me because I have met with Fatah. He was one of the most prominent [Jews] and if anybody is to be the king, in a certain sense, of the Jews, then this is the man that was [should be]. He has been one of the great leaders and I don't believe that anybody has attained his status.

#### 'Arafat Facing Problem Realistically

[Question] Mr Chancellor, as a result of your meeting with Yasir 'Arafat and Willy Brandt here in Vienna, do you truly believe that there is a possibility for settling what is between the Palestinians and Israel?

[Answer] As for the meeting, I had the impression, and so did Mr Brandt, that Mr 'Arafat is facing the problem realistically. This in itself is very important. As for the Israelis, I have nothing but hope for internal developments among them. However, I sincerely believe that there has been vast internal change among the Israelis, especially among the new generation. This generation which waged the war consists of good soldiers with courage. But they do not want to fight unless fighting is essential for Israel's survival. But if they can get peace now on acceptable terms, they prefer peace.

Thus, the issue is extremely significant because the new generation controls the "Peace Now Movement" which is an effective movement for peace and which has engaged in numerous serious actions.

I have heard that one of the chief rabbis in Israel has stated that the land said by the Bible to belong to the Jews is less important than preserving life and that if it is necessary to give up this land to preserve our people's life, then let it be. I have personally read this.

Yesterday, an Israeli committee of experts dealing with the Jerusalem issue proposed partitioning Jerusalem into two sections, one Jewish and the other Arab, with each having an independent administration and with the presence of a general council for coordination and integration.

This is a very forward development compared to what I have heard from the radicals.

[Question] Do you think that we have time for such developments that take a long time?

[Answer] Actually, we do not have time. What I mean by this is that we have to continue and not wait to see because the age of the policy of "wait and see" which was always a favorite of the big powers has ended. In this case, we have to continue to exert pressure on the world public opinion, in the United Nations and everywhere for a solution and we have to let the parties concerned know that the side that does not favor a just solution will be isolated sooner or later.

#### Solution Within 3-4 Years

[Question] Can you see a just solution in the horizon within one year, for example?

[Answer] No, not within one year. One year is out of the picture in such problems. We had to wait 10 years to conclude the treaty on the Austrian state but you can see the results today. Austria is free and unbelievably astonishing in the level of prosperity that it has achieved.

I am an optimist. If the Middle East problem is solved within the next 3 or 4 years--and I believe that this is possible if a new war does not erupt--you will see that this area--Jordan, Israel and Palestine (whether it is the state of Palestine, the Palestinian entity or whatever)--will realize an enormous degree of prosperity in 10 years because the lack of oil is a basic reason for real progress. In such a case, the people have to work hard and to exert their mind more strenuously than the others because the dollars will not come running to them freely. I am convinced that these three peoples have such a degree of capability and such an intellectual standard that will enable them to achieve surprising progress.

#### Lebanese Problem Within Framework

Naturally, we must also mention peace in Lebanon. It seems to me that we have to discuss the problems of four political entities: Jordan, Lebanon, the Palestinian entity and Israel. I will not be happy if coexistence is established between the West Bank inhabitants and Israel only while the civil war in Lebanon continues. Thus, I believe that we have to put the Lebanese problem within this framework of interlocked problems because all these problems are entwined internally with one another.

[Question] Do you think that there is a need in these 3 or 4 years to hold intellectual meetings for dialogue among the intellectuals of these entities?

[Answer] I always want dialogue among the intellectuals. But the intellectuals have one capability. They are intelligent to the degree that usually makes them quarrel. The problem is how to make the politicians agree because they must have a dialogue among them.

It would be very nice to gather university professors in an intellectual meeting. This will be a great event. But in tense atmospheres, the politicians pay no attention to scientists and intellectuals and even use them for their ends everywhere. The Peace Now Movement in Israel is not only a movement of soldiers but also a movement of university professors. The politicians must find the way.

[Question] But isn't there the danger that the apple cart may turn over and its load lost through another war before a solution is reached?

[Answer] Yes. We must prevent the eruption of such a war. This is something that the United States and the major powers should do.

[Question] Do you think that the major powers are doing enough to prevent the eruption of such a war?

[Answer] No, they have not done this so far. However, I believe that they must do so.

[Question] It seems to me from the science and technology conference that I have seen held in Vienna that a new role is emerging for Vienna in international affairs?

[Answer] This is not a new role but a wide-scale reaffirmation of what is actually happening in our country. We must be fully aware and must acknowledge that it is a role with a limited scope. We are not natural middlemen. I am not a natural middleman because I do not enjoy the same confidence on the Israeli side as I do in some Arab countries. A middleman must have the confidence of both sides.

I will do my share because I am deeply bound to the problem. I will continue this work even though it is very tiring and unpleasant at times. However, I am not here solely for the purpose of seeking a pleasant life.

#### Moral Commitment or Economic Interest?

[Question] What makes you engage in this work? Is it moral commitment, economic interest or geo-political considerations?

[Answer] I want to be frank with you and tell you that the motives are a combination of several things. I am fundamentally a socialist and, therefore, I work as a socialist. All my life has been guided by these principles. Secondly, I believe in firm cooperation between Europe and the Arab world and this cooperation is the most natural thing I can think of. Thirdly, I am thinking of the political necessity of establishing peace because if there is no peace, there will be a confrontation between the major powers. You cannot have detente and relaxation in Europe when you have a confrontation in the Middle East.

[Question] What is the significance of your recent meeting with Yasir 'Arafat and what has this meeting produced?

[Answer] This is very interesting. You are asking me this question in the city where Sigmund Freud was born and started his work. The Austrian scientists did not understand him and he was given greater credit outside his country than he was given in his own country.

But Sigmund Freud used the word "embodiment" which means making corporeal that which does exist but is invisible. What I have done is to contribute toward the attempt to embody the problem more clearly. Do you understand me?

[Question] Yes, I understand you.

[Answer] This also happened at the (Socialist International). There was only one speaker at that meeting of the leaders of the socialist parties who opposed negotiation with the Palestinians. But they ultimately agreed [with this one speaker].

Shimon Perez was the one who opposed and the one who made all those present, including myself, agree that terrorism is bad, fearful and must be ended. He made them all understand that Israel must survive. But at the same time, he had to understand that we all approve negotiation with the Palestinians and with their true representatives and that these representatives cannot be chosen by the Israeli Government.

#### Palestinians Must Show Their Willingness to Deal

[Question] Are there certain signals that the Palestinians must give to indicate their desire for a certain solution?

[Answer] I will tell you frankly that Mr 'Arafat, if he wants to speed up this process, must, along with his colleagues, have the strong nerve to display their desire for a solution and must not turn back to the rigid and violent means because they will then destroy the process. Yes, they will destroy the process. Now, and while the Israeli Government's position is getting more rigid, the Palestinians must demonstrate their willingness to deal. This will be the policy of true statesmen because they will then win the entire world over to their side.

[Question] But reducing the Palestinian pressure will not encourage the world to take quick action.

[Answer] No, no, no. You cannot pressure the world with force. How can you force us? Terrorism consists of operations that are not very effective but that will destroy the public opinion that has reached the point of supporting the Palestinians.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLO LEADER IN KUWAIT COMMENTS ON YOUNG RESIGNATION

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 17 Aug 79 p 3

[Article: "Battash: Young Issue Has Confirmed Failure of Policy of Wagering on United States; Carter Administration Incapable of Taking Position That Serves Its People; Arabs Required to Utilize This Opportunity Politically and Informationally; Palestinian-European Contacts to Find Formula for Joint Dialogue"]

[Text] 'Awni Battash, director of the PLO Office in Kuwait, has stated that the resignation of Andrew Young, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, is the biggest proof of the potency of the Zionist movement's influence in the United States and of the impact of this movement's plans on the U.S. administration. The resignation also proves Washington's inability to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East issue, thus confirming that the policy of wagering on the United States followed by President Anwar al-Sadat on the grounds that 99 percent of the cards of the issue are in the hands of the United States is a false and faulty policy.

Battash added that the PLO has been aware of this position and cognizant of its dimensions. The events have proven decisively that the U.S. administration is incapable of taking a position that serves the interests of the U.S. people who pay the price of the Zionist domination of their fates.

Battash further said: We expect wide-scale popular reaction of sympathy with Andrew Young and with the Palestinian cause inside the United States.

We also ask President Carter: Has racial discrimination started anew and where are the human rights program and President Lincoln's principles?

Battash urged the Arab countries to utilize this position politically and informationally inside and outside the United States and to use this opportunity to bolster the Arab causes.

Concluding his statement, the PLO office director lauded the courage of Andrew Young, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, who has confronted the Zionist tyranny to tell his people the truth.

On the other hand, Arab diplomatic sources have revealed that contacts are currently underway between the Common European Market group and the PLO through the embassy of one of the members of this group in one of the Gulf capitals. These diplomatic sources have said that the French ambassador to one of the Gulf countries met more than four times with the director of the PLO office in this country in the past 2 weeks to discuss the possibility of finding a base or formula for joint dialogue and to prepare for the visit of Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO chairman, to a number of capitals of the European group.

The sources added that the European group's goal behind this calm dialogue is to bolster the mutual confidence, especially since Europe has advised the PLO to escalate its diplomatic activity and to curtail its military operations because the war of attrition launched by Israel against the resistance in southern Lebanon has affected the resistance's military strength. These sources have pointed out that this European position has been conveyed officially to the resistance.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

GREECE, ARABS TRY TO RIGHT FALTERING RELATIONSHIP

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 25 Aug 79 p 15

[Article by Muhammad Mustafa Mahmud: "Signs of Danger in Arab-Greek Relations; Why Doesn't Greece Recognize PLO, Facilitate Construction of Islamic Center in Athens and Give Go-Ahead Signal to Joint Economic Establishments"]

[Text] For a considerable time now, the Arab-Greek relations have occupied the front pages of the major Greek papers in an attempt on the part of these papers to familiarize the Greek public opinion with its government's policy toward the Arab countries and to acquaint this opinion with the facts concerning what facilities the Arab countries are offering the Greek Government and what the Greek Government is offering in return. AL-QABAS has taken this opportunity and participated with the Greek papers with this report to place the Arab-Greek relations in the balance of discussion.

Observers of the Greek Government's policy toward the Arab countries do not know whether this policy is proceeding along the right or the wrong path. It is well-known that Greece is undergoing a difficult economic phase as a result of the rise of oil prices and of the shortage of oil. This crisis started in 1973 and the Greek Government has not been able to utilize it in its favor, considering that openness to the policy of the Arab countries did not require at the time more than a Greek statement supporting the policy of these countries. This would have been enough to lay down firm foundations for the Arab-Greek relations and for securing the Greek requirements of Arab oil in the long range with big facilities.

The essential shortcoming in that period emanated from the failure of the Greek Government to open a new era for its relations with the Arab countries. Greek openness to relations with the Arab countries has been late, has lacked a clear program and has been dominated by responsibility [sic]. Instead of personally visiting the important Arab oil exporting countries in 1976 and of endeavoring to establish complete openness toward these countries, Greek Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis delayed such action until 1978.

But what is important in the Arab-Greek relations is that Greece is not exerting efforts to enhance these relations and to raise them to a good level by fulfilling a part of the just and legitimate demands of the Arab countries, and this is acknowledged by the Greek popular circles and by the opposition parties. This failure to exert efforts includes the issue of recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. All the Arab endeavors to make Greece recognize the PLO officially have failed so far. This is due to the Greek Government's foreign policy that took a generally negative course toward the friendly Arab countries between 1974 and 1977.

It is true that Greece does not exchange diplomatic representation with Israel and this is something that the Arab countries have appreciated and continue to appreciate. However, this position continues to fall short of putting the Arab-Greek relations on a firm and sound course. This position is most like middle-of-the-way policy. What is required now is more than this policy, considering the new changes.

#### Sign of Danger

The red light or the sign of danger, according to the phrase used by some Athenian papers, turned on last May when more than an Arab ambassador complained of the lukewarm or negative official positions toward what concerns the Arab countries.

Arab diplomats say: We are dealing with people who are in their entirety friendly to the Arabs but who are led by a government that is neutral toward our problems.

The fact is that the existing relations between the Arab countries and Greece demonstrate the slow pace of the Greek Government in bolstering these relations at a time when the Arab countries constitute the sole source of Greek oil and when they let no opportunity pass without proving their feeling of friendship toward Greece.

#### Arab Initiatives

A short time ago, the Greek Government was reassured regarding the energy problem for the next 3 years when Saudi Arabia agreed to supply Greece with 8 million tons of oil during these 3 years. Libya has also agreed to supply Greece with 3 million tons.

It has been pointed out that the Greek Government has received assurances that Arab oil supplies to Greece will not be cut off even if a new oil embargo is imposed.

A sign of the Arab goodwill is the fact that when the OPEC started raising its oil prices in 1977, beginning with a five percent increase, Saudi Arabia sent Athens a memorandum through the Arab-Greek Friendship Society

to the effect that the agreed upon 3 million tons would be delivered at the old price without any increase and with payment facilities allowing for the payment to start 6 months after delivery.

Until now, the Greek Government has not recognized the PLO. Moreover, the Greek relations with numerous Arab countries are still limited. A proof of this is the fact that these countries have no ambassadors and are still represented by charges d'affaires in Athens.

The Arab diplomatic circles believe that for the relations to be bolstered seriously, the Greek Government must go beyond the sphere of stressing its friendship for the Arab countries with statements and similar utterances to the sphere of adopting practical measures and initiatives.

#### Negative Stances

These sources censure the Greek Government for numerous negative stances, including:

The issuance of a law ratified by the Greek Parliament imposing difficult conditions on the Arab students studying in Greek universities. When the Arab embassies protested, the Greek Government reconsidered the law with the aim of abolishing many of its provisions. This law has caused numerous Arab students to withdraw from these universities.

When the Kuwaiti consul in Athens visited the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1978 to ask the Greek Government to spell out its stance toward the Israeli attacks against southern Lebanon and against the Palestinian camps, the consul was not pleased with the stance he met--a lukewarm stance --even though he represented all the Arab diplomats in Athens on that visit.

When Mr (Papaoglu), the chairman of the Greek-Arab Friendship Society who was also governor of Athens, invited a PLO delegation to visit Athens, he was summoned to the Ministry of Interior to cancel the invitation and to stop holding discussions in this regard or give up his position as governor.

#### Bargaining Over Organization!

The stance toward the Palestinian issue continues to top the negative aspects in the relations with the Arab countries.

It has become known that the Greek Government makes it a condition to recognize the PLO that it establish with Israel at the same time, relations at the ambassadorial level instead of the current consular relations.

It is worth noting that the Israeli consular outfit in Athens is very active and works in an atmosphere of full freedom.

### **Obstruction of Islamic Center**

There is another very expressive indicator embodied in the fact that the Greek Government had promised a long time ago several Arab countries that it would permit the construction of an Islamic center and a mosque in Athens. A sum of 22 million drachmas were allocated by these countries for this purpose and the site for the center was chosen. But nothing has been done yet because there are obstacles.

### **Economic Aspect**

Economically, there is more than one problem:

Three years have passed and the Greek side has not yet made a decision on the issue of opening an Arab-Greek bank in Athens, keeping in mind that the basic provisions have already been agreed upon and that a place has been leased. But the issue ends at this point (30 percent of the bank capital is to come from Kuwait, 30 percent from Libya and 40 percent from Greece). Iraq has also shown interest in the issue.

Concluding an agreement to establish an Arab-Greek chamber of commerce in Athens: Even though 90 percent of the benefits of this chamber will be in favor of Greece, the Arab side wants the chamber to avoid problems between Arab and Greek businessmen and to help in the delivery of good Greek products to the Arab countries and, what is more important, to prevent the infiltration of Israeli production to the Arab countries under the guise of being Greek production now that it has become obvious that quantities of Israeli commodities enter the Arab countries under the guise of being Greek commodities.

Now the issue of the Arab-Greek relations is raised in all its aspects and is highlighted by the Greek press and political circles. There is full conviction among most sectors that the Greek interest lies primarily in putting these relations on the right course and in bolstering them. The question is: Will Karamanlis's government respond and move in this direction seriously.

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STUDENT LEADER EXPLAINS OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 11 Sep 79 p 5

[Article by Mu'tazz Maydani: "Bahrain Student Federation: We Are Seeking Right of Travel Like Other Citizens; We Resorted to Demonstration After Failure of Dialogue and Memorandums"]

[Text] Bahrain has witnessed recently a series of popular movements generally, and student movements in particular, that have accompanied the developments experienced by the Arab Gulf area since the Iranian revolution's triumph.

AL-SAFIR has interviewed Ahmad 'Ali Bu Shulaybi, member of the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Bahrain Students and the official in charge of culture and information, who has talked about the conditions of the student movement in Bahrain, saying:

The Bahrain student movement is struggling against four decisions and measures adopted by the government against the students, namely:

1. Banning a large number of students, amounting to 212 students since 1977, from traveling abroad. A small number of these students did travel later. However, there are still more than 100 male and female students (not 40 students, as the minister of interior has stated) who are denied travel.
2. Forcing students to renew their passports annually in Bahrain, keeping in mind that the passports of the other citizens are renewed every 5 years. This constitutes discrimination among the citizens violating the international charters and conventions, especially the human rights charter, and conflicting with the constitution in force in the country.
3. The innovation of the travel permits is imposed on the students alone whereas the other citizens can travel without acquiring these permits. We, as a federation, believe that the citizens should be given equal rights as long as they have equal duties.

4. The measures to seize public liberties which started with dissolving the Bahraini National Council in 1975 and banning open activities by the National Federation of Bahraini Students. This is something that has forced the federation to engage in activities at branch level but not at the central level.

Regarding the student movements witnessed by Bahrain last August, Bu Shulaybi said: The federation's Executive Committee met during the summer and found that there are changes capable of enabling the federation to make more concerted and open moves. These changes are represented in the triumph of the Iranian revolution and the maturity of the student movement in Bahrain. This is why the Executive Committee drew up an advanced program, including:

First, carrying out open social, athletic and unionist student activities.

Second, a number of organizational steps.

Third, confronting and foiling the four decisions under the slogan of "let us escalate our struggle to foil all the decisions that are unfair to the students."

He added: The federation started to carry out its program, holding acquaintance parties and organizing cultural trips which were an occasion for large-scale meetings to discuss the issues of which the student movement is complaining.

He further said: As for confronting the unjust decisions, the federation presented to Shaykh 'Issa ibn Salman Al Khalifah, Crown Prince Hamad ibn 'Issa Al Khalifah, the prime minister and the ministers of education and of the interior memorandums demanding cancellation of the decision banning travel.

In addition to the memorandums, the federation started to hold dialogue meetings with the official authorities. But those meetings, which lasted from the middle of July to the end of August, produced no positive results. For example, Salman al-Mahamid, chairman of the student delegation that visited the country's ruler to discuss with him the issue of the students banned from travel, was arrested and later released as a result of the student and popular movements. Moreover, the ministers described the students as troublemakers because they demanded rights stipulated in the human rights charter and in the country's constitution.

Bu Shulaybi said that the official authorities asked the students to sign pledges not to "engage in any activity harmful to the state's security and interests" as a condition to permit them to travel. The federation rejected this and made other moves which proceeded hand in hand with the meetings held with the officials, including the staging of a big student demonstration that marched through the streets of al-Muharraq at the beginning of the current month of September.

He also said that the authorities permitted nearly 30 students to travel without signing these pledges as a result of the federation's struggle.

He also pointed out that the Bahraini students at home have other demands concerned with giving them the opportunity to higher education. For example, the Education College students are demanding that the fees imposed on them and amounting to 160 dinars (nearly 1,360 Lebanese pounds) annually be reduced.

He said that the special section, namely the intelligence agency, is headed by a Briton named Henderson who interferes in the country's various affairs.

He pointed out that the Bahrain authorities subsidize three clubs which they have established in Kuwait, Cairo and Alexandria to divert the student attention from politics and focus it on recreation. However, these clubs have not been able to polarize the students and the number of those participating in them has remained very small.

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NATIONAL FORCES DISCUSS DEMOCRACY, PRESS FREEDOM, PARTIES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 4 Oct 79 p 11

[Article: "Dialogue Between National, Progressive and Democratic Forces in Egypt; Khalid Muhyi-al-Din: National Concessions Are Linked to Attack Against Democracy; 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji: Boycotting al-Sadat Is Solution; Dr 'Abd-al-Salam al-Zayyat: Socialism Is Inevitable Solution; Kamil Zuhayri: Freedom of Press Is Sacred; Dr 'Ismat Sayf-al-Dawlah: Al-Sadat Is Symbol of Capitalism"]

[Text] The first dialogue has started in Cairo between the representatives of the Egyptian national, progressive and democratic forces on the national and democratic issue, on the freedom of the press, on the formation of parties, on the economic crisis and on the new alliance in the Arab area between Israel and al-Sadat's regime.

The "future of democracy, public liberties and of economic and national issues" symposium was held on the night of Tuesday, 18 September, at the headquarters of NPUG [The National Progressive Unionist Grouping]. Participating in the symposium were representatives of the Grouping, the New al-Wafd and National Front parties and independents from the various national political currents. The symposium was also attended by more than 1,000 guests, including Islamic writer Dr Muhammad Ahmad Khalafallah, Nasirist thinker Muhammad 'Awdah, university professor and lady writer Dr Latifah al-Zayyat, journalist Abu-Sayf Yusuf, history professor Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Ramadan, former People's Assembly members Ahmad Taha, Ahmad Mujahid, Ahmad Qabbari 'Abdallah and 'Abd-al-Khalil al-Shinnawi, a former minister of irrigation and member of al-Wafd Party's Higher Council. The symposium was also attended by Dr 'Awatif 'Abd-al-Rahman, a professor at the College of Sciences; Hilmi Sha'rawi, an expert on African affairs; Dr Lutfi 'Abd-al-'Azim, the former chief editor of AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI; artist Jamil Ratib, impressionist artist Anji Aflatun, poetess Malak 'Abd-al-'Aziz, university professor Dr Amrah Matar and other writers, authors, artists, journalists, university professors and students.

The meeting started with an address from Dr Yahya al-Jamal, a lawyer, the deputy rapporteur of the Grouping Party and a former minister of state, in which he explained that in its invitation to this dialogue, the party proceeds on the

basis of the fact that Egypt's problems and issues belong to all of Egypt's sons and not to anybody else. Even though the Grouping has a program in which its members believe, it does not claim that it possesses the entire truth or denies the rights of others to express their opinions. This is where the idea came for the open dialogue in which the numerous national currents meet to discuss and debate matters. Through this dialogue, we can reach intellectual convictions which we then transform into actions for the future of Egypt and of the Arab homeland in this decisive phase of our nation's history.

#### Democracy Is Key to Situation

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the Grouping Party rapporteur, then spoke. He said that the issue projected is no longer the peace treaty but national sovereignty and rights over which we are witnessing constant concessions. Many supported Camp David but were apprehensive of the many concessions made daily for the so-called peace--the latest being the announcement about the sale of Nile River water to irrigate the Negev desert and the Israeli Government's decisions permitting its citizens to purchase land in the West Bank and Gaza.

The concessions of the national issue are always tied with the onslaught against democracy. Since the Jerusalem visit and until now, there have been numerous retreats in democracy. Law No 33 of 1978 was issued under the name of 'the law to protect the national front' whereas its real goal is to keep the national and democratic forces out of the sphere of legal political action. Then the so-called political interrogation was devised and, consequently, it has become the right of the socialist prosecutor to isolate politically any citizen he wants and to abolish any parties he wants! We are then surprised by an attempt to impose the democratic socialism ideology even though there is no such thing as a democratic socialism ideology in the world. There are democratic socialist parties but nobody has claimed that there is a democratic socialist ideology. This was followed by the first violation of the constitution through the dissolution of the People's Assembly. It is not permissible in accordance with the constitution to dissolve the People's Assembly except for an urgent necessity, such as a constitutional crisis or an objection to a number of important laws. Such a thing did not happen. Rather, the last action taken by the previous People's Assembly was its approval of the Camp David accords. Still, the people were asked to participate in a referendum which ended with dissolving the assembly and with the promulgation of a number of new laws, such as the new parties law which bans the creation of parties opposed to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. They thus gave the treaty a power stronger than that of the constitution itself. Nothing of the sort has ever happened in our history. The 1923 constitution does not stipulate that whoever opposes the 1936 [sic] treaty has no right to political action! Moreover, another law has been issued giving the Supreme Press Council the right to own 51 percent of the shares of new papers.

This means that the ruling party will appoint the chief editor of any partisan paper that disagrees with it in opinion! All these are just examples of the attacks launched against democracy.

This has been coupled with a policy that undermines the area's future. The Israeli press has been talking about a new political pact between Egypt and Israel in the wake of Begin's visit to Alexandria and al-Sadat's visit to Haifa--a visit during which the President of the Republic acknowledged the principle of the United Jerusalem and announced his approval of the principle of selling Egyptian oil to Israel and supplying the Nile water to the Negev. This is an issue on which the President of the Republic is not entitled to make a decision by himself. Even the ruling party was not consulted on this issue or on the issue of sending troops to the King of Morocco. Egypt accepted the Camp David treaty [sic] under the pretext of putting an end to the attrition caused by military spending. Now, we are required to fight in Morocco and to interfere in an inter-Arab dispute. In this climate, the other voice can offer no opinion. The national and democratic forces must have an opposed opinion to prevent any further concessions. In a few weeks, discussions will take place on the so-called constitutional amendment. The first issue that we must raise is the issue of amending the institution of the president of the republic. Egypt must become a parliamentary republic and its president must be elected by the parliament and have limited powers. The prime minister must be the real power.

The other issue is the issue of the formation of parties, as long as a party's principles are not in conflict with the constitution, and the issue of the right of press publication to natural and legal status persons.

The third issue is the issue of the Egyptian labor union's movement and its independence. The socialist prosecutor must stop interfering in membership nominations. The final point is the independence of the universities and recognition of the student's right to political action and the issue of censorship on books and on printing presses. The security agencies are currently in full control of the printing presses and no book is permitted to be printed without their approval. Only with this can we speak about the freedom of expression in Egypt.

#### No Cooperation With al-Sadat

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din was followed by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurabji, a former lawyers doyen and member of the New al-Wafd Party's Higher Council. Al-Shurabji said: To al-Sadat, we are all parties, catastrophes and tribulations. Democracy, in al-Sadat's view, is for him to rule. Any talk about the freedom to form parties, the freedom of the press or the freedom of assembly is meaningless to al-Sadat. The solution I propose is boycott. There should be no cooperation with whoever does not cooperate with the masses. If al-Sadat's motorcade passes through a street, we should turn our backs to him and if he asks to conduct a dialogue, we should reject. No ruler can withstand his people's boycott. The other proposal calls for us to be more positive. If he declares that he will permit the Nile water to be used to irrigate the Negev desert, then we should go and stop this water physically.

Of course al-Sadat will declare that we have formed an alliance with the communists. Well, we have formed an alliance with people who have thought an

opinion whereas he--al-Sadat--has formed an alliance with the Zionists and the Americans who have ambitions. We all agree on one point, namely Egypt. Will he join us or will he prefer his agreement on Tel Aviv and Washington.

#### What They Want and What We Want

Dr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Zayyat, a former deputy prime minister and chairman of the Socialist Union's General Congress, then asked: What is intended for us and what do we want for ourselves? What is intended for us in the absence of democracy is to remain silent and to forget the words 'imperialism and colonialism.' There may come a day shortly when a law is issued levying penalties for the use of these words. What is intended for us is to forget our struggle of 25 years against the expansionist Zionism and to consider it a Jewish national liberation movement. We are hostile to colonialism and hostile to Zionism and we stress the need for the establishment of socialism in Egypt as an inevitable solution to all our problems. We want to set up a real economic base that absorbs the thousands of unemployed people who need work and not to transform Egypt into a consumer market for the sake of commissions and graft. We want a society over which the banner of democracy flies. We want the unity of all the national, democratic and progressive forces, and let them then accuse us of whatever they wish.

#### Rigging Up Elections and Referendums

Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi, a lawyer and one of the founders of the National Front Party, criticized the new parties law, saying that this law stipulates that the approval of 20 People's Assembly members be obtained before the formation of a party. If a party manages to get the approval of some parliament members, the state expels them from the parliament, as it has done with Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri, Kamal-al-Din Husayn, Shaykh 'Ashur and 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan. If such a party awaits the elections for the People's Assembly, the elections are rigged up the same way the referendums are rigged up and the party gains no seats. The right to the formation of parties is a fictitious right. The president reflects this fact when he says in one of his speeches: "Thank God for the Wafdist who have dissolved themselves, thus giving themselves and us rest, before we had to dissolve them. There remains the Grouping and I am telling them to freeze their activities or to dissolve themselves before we dissolve them." Do these words reflect democracy?

#### Egypt Will not Abandon Its Liberties

When the addresses from the rostrum ended, the dialogue was opened to the guests of the symposium. Kamil Zuhayri, journalist and doyen of the Arab Journalists Federation, spoke about the old attempts to divert the Nile water. He said that those who have agreed to diverting the Nile water have read nothing about the history of nationalism in Egypt and know nothing about our history until the days of (Cromer). In 1905, a Zionist-British mission came to discuss settlement of the Jews in the Sinai. Cromer was aware of the strong Zionist pressure from London so he referred the decision to (Moncrief), the British irrigation adviser, who rejected the plan.

Considering that Cromer had repelled the Zionist ambition concerning the future of Egypt, isn't today's promise a cause of ridicule and pain? Rather, it is a national catastrophe. Had there been a national press, it would have surrounded such news with black.

Those who find it too much for the national elements to demand the freedom of the press so that this press may take a firm stand toward this issue and others are ignorant of Egypt's history and have only read pocketbook novels and shreds of Hitler's or Ataturk's thoughts [reference to al-Sadat].

Those who are distort'ng the culture and distorting the national movement do not know that 100 years ago, a booklet appeared in Egypt to defend the freedom of the press and that the National Party--the party of 'Arabi and al-Nadim--demanded the freedom of the press. It is surprising that the issue of the freedom of the press emerges only when Egypt is at a crossroad and when the struggle intensifies between internal oppression and foreign ambitions [on the one hand] and the rising national forces [on the other]. In 1909, Butrus Ghali imposed the policy of reconciliation with colonialism, decided to extend the Suez Canal concession and wanted to impose a law with which to muzzle the press.

Today they want to repeat the tragedy under the pretext that some of our colleagues the journalists are criticizing the regime outside Egypt. Don't they know that Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, Muhammad Farid, Adib Ishaq and Abu-Nazzarah were writing abroad? Egypt will not abandon the Sinai, the same way it will not abandon its water and will not abandon its liberties. The freedom of the press is as sacred as the Nile River waters.

#### Open-Door Economy Beginning of Retrogression

Dr 'Ismat Sayf-al-Dawlah, a lawyer, then proceeded to touch off the issue of the concept of democracy saying: Some of what I will say will not please some people. We have come here to hold a dialogue. If we were in agreement, there would be no need for this dialogue. There is nothing more sham than the word 'democracy' when it is not attributed to a certain society and to certain economic and social conditions. We are talking as if we hold the same concept of democracy as al-Sadat's regime does. We are talking about retreats in democracy. This is a trap. In my opinion, the retrogression from democracy started with the promulgation of the open-door economy law which handed power over to capitalism. The retrogression happened on the day when the peasants were denied their right to stay and to settle on the land and when the workers were denied the right to stability in work and to participating in the management. All those who have gotten angry at President al-Sadat and his regime have no right to be angry. The issue is not al-Sadat. The issue is one of a capitalist retrogression. A capitalist system must be accompanied by liberalism or else it turns into fascism.

This is a political law. We can either be reformists and believe in the capitalist system, demanding some changes, or we can reject this system and there will be struggle. They are the ones who have created the objective causes for this struggle and they are trying to suppress this struggle with the so-called

'national unity law.' They have not stated for what purpose is this national unity so that they may allow themselves to interpret it as they wish. But they are the ones who have violated this law by enabling the capitalist class to predominate the other classes. Al-Sadat is the ruling symbol of the capitalist class that rules Egypt. So, why are we talking about democracy as if we have all agreed on its meaning?

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AL-SADAT ADDRESSES MUSLIM SCHOLARS

Cairo AL-AZHAR in Arabic Sep 79 pp 1981-2006

[Article: "Dialogue Between President of Republic and Muslim Ulema and Thinkers"]

[Text] President al-Sadat met in Ismailia with the Muslim ulema. The meeting was attended by the vice president, Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman Bisar, the Shaykh of al-Azhar; Hasan al-Tuhami, the deputy prime minister for the presidency, Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker; Mansur Hasan, the minister of state for the presidency, and a large number of al-Azhar ulema and Muslim writers and thinkers. Following is the full text of the president's address, of the words delivered by the religious leaderships and of the discussions that followed the president's address:

In the name of God,

His eminence the grand imam and the venerable and esteemed brother ulema: I have invited you tonight so that we may discuss the question of rebuilding Egypt now that God, may He be praised, has opened our country to us. This country has become ours and there is no decision other than our decision and no will other than our will in it. You have heard your brothers and sisters from the various fields of specialization who spoke previously about the solutions and the problems that we are facing and for which we are all exerting efforts to reach solutions.

Our problems are complex because a long time passed during which numerous issues were neglected. We were then surprised by a population increasing by one million persons every year. We were surprised by all these problems facing us all at once. You have heard your brothers and sisters describe these problems and the solutions for them. Perhaps this is the first time in which we sit together like a single family, without distinction between ruler and ruled and as dictated by our tolerant religion, to discuss matters and to apply the words of God, may He be praised: "They consult on their affairs."

In this phase, our matters will not be set aright except in the manner in which our struggling forefathers and predecessors set their matters aright, i.e. by having all our opinions agree on what is right and by our participation in

describing the problem and in finding the means and the cure to deal with all these problems. You remember that at the beginning of these meetings, I talked to the youth and that my first meeting was with the youth. Why?

#### Preparing Youth for Future

Because the youth are the generation that will have to take over the responsibility from us. We must prepare the youth and arm them with all the weapons and the means we can so that they may face life, may build Egypt, our immortal Egypt, and so that we may help them avoid the mistakes we committed throughout 2,000 years before the 23 July revolution. You also heard me tell the youth that the rulers of Egypt were foreigners and that Egypt was not ruled by its own sons until after the inception of the 23 July revolution.

You also heard me say that the source of our suffering was not only the British colonialism that oppressed the country, not only the intransigent king who was alien to this people and who only wanted to give free reign to his desires and not only the political leaders who existed from 1922 and until the inception of the 23 July 1952 revolution and who turned Egypt into a farm for their interests and monopolized the rule as if they were sent by divine providence to rule Egypt and as if we--the peasants, the workers and the toilers--had only to listen to and obey them.

#### Betrayal of 'Arabi Epitome of Tragedy

This was not all that we suffered. In the period that followed 'Arabi's revolution and the 1919 revolution, we started to deviate from the path which alone could have set us aright. After 'Arabi's revolution, a number of Egyptians betrayed, as you know, 'Arabi and the British colonialism was able, after being defeated in Kafr al-Dawwar and Alexandria, to march from this place and to reach the canal where it found some Egyptian traitors willing to march ahead of the British army on the orders of Khedive.

The tragedy reached its peak when the Khedive reviewed in 'Abdin Square the forces that entered to strike and parade [sic] Egypt. In the 1919 revolution, the situation was worse. The people detonated the 1919 revolution to state clearly and unambiguously: We want democracy, a constitution and the people's rights. All the people were united in this revolution to the degree that the ruler had to call himself sultan instead of Khedive at the time. He tried to find somebody to form the government but all those rulers [leaders] refused to do so for fear of the people's wrath. So, Britain resorted to the trick of issuing the 28 February declaration which gave Egypt a lame independence.

#### Mistakes of Old Politicians

It would have behooved those who proceeded to lead the political action at that time to dictate this matter [sic], as the people had rejected all forms of trickery in their revolution. But those leaders accepted this declaration and the British advised the ruler at the time to transfer the khediveship into a kingdom so as to issue the so-called 23 July constitution and to introduce

it as a gift from the king. Those who led the political action at the time also committed a grave mistake when they accepted the lame independence and then the king's gift. Thus, the struggle was transformed. Instead of being a battle for our people to achieve their full rights and to rid themselves of foreign colonialism and of the foreign ruling family, our leaders, may God forgive them, transformed the issue into a domestic political struggle with which they preoccupied the people. They preoccupied the people with their persons and their interests and they established the worst traditions instead of establishing partisan or democratic political traditions, as they claimed. Instead of stating that the goal of any political action is to build civilizations and states--as it is in the world that has built such civilizations and states--and instead of realizing the Egyptian people's prosperity, freedom, dignity and sovereignty over their decision and their land, those leaders instated their persons as the goal and pushed the people to align themselves with persons. This regrettable slogan reached the point where those leaders exploited the tolerance and goodness of this people when they said that occupation on the hands of Sa'd was better than independence on the hands of 'Adli.

#### **Leadership Battle**

The issue was no longer Egypt's freedom or building Egypt and the dignity of the Egyptian man so that he may live like any honorable man lives on his land. The battle and the problem turned into the persons of Sa'd, 'Adli al-Nahhas and the other leaders.

In the 1919 revolution and in the earlier revolution that Cairo staged against the French colonialism, al-Azhar was the place from which the sound call was issued--the call for struggle and strife, the call for freedom, the call for death for the sake of Egypt and the call for freedom so that the people may attain their rights. The two elements of the nation were formed at that time.

Inside al-Azhar Mosque, the turbaned shaykh stood at the time side by side with the priest and they called together for Egypt's right and Egypt's freedom. They all demanded that Egypt be for the Egyptians and for their will and decision. All those battles were waged against colonialism, be it French or British. We thank God that faith runs in the blood of our people in this area. This is a blessing from God to us.

This is what God has willed for us, namely that faith constitute the primary and the firmest component of the personality of man on this land. And before that?

#### **Al-Azhar and Islam**

We must point out that al-Azhar remained the defender of Islam for a full 1,000 years. Had it not been for al-Azhar and for al-Azhar's battles--not only in Egypt but in all parts of the Islamic world--Islam would not have been able to triumph against the ferocious onslaught of the European colonialism which infiltrated Asia, Africa and our Arab area and attempted to strike Islam. This is because Islam has been and will continue to be a revolution--a revolution in every sense of the word. We are proud of this and we must be proud of it.

## Story of Morocco Conference

When the conferees met in Morocco a few months ago in an Islamic conference to which I had called [sentence incomplete]. Perhaps you don't know this but the call to the Islamic conference which was held in Morocco a month or two ago came originally from me to the king of Morocco, asking him to call for the convocation of an Islamic conference in Morocco on the issue of Jerusalem. The king of Morocco cannot deny this and the Saudis cannot deny it. The call came originally from Egypt. I asked the king of Morocco in an official message, which I demand that he publish immediately to all, to call for the Islamic conference on Jerusalem. What has happened? What happened is that the ministers of foreign affairs met in Morocco and that while we were preparing to send the Egyptian delegation, the King of Morocco plotted with his minister of foreign affairs, the Saudis and the rejectionists to ban Egypt from attending that conference.

They feared the presence of the Egyptian delegation and feared that the Egyptian delegation would answer them and tell them that we were the originators and the ones who called for this conference and not Morocco, Saudi Arabia or any other country. They plotted and the matter ended with the suspension of Egypt's membership in the Islamic conference in the absence of Egypt—a suspension that came about as a result of Saudi bribes to some Arab countries at times and as a result of pressure exerted out of courtesy for Saudi Arabia at other times. But the Islamic African countries were eager to denounce this attitude and they recorded their denunciation and disapproval in the minutes of the conference.

Does suspending Egypt's membership eliminate Egypt's Islamic responsibility? Not at all. Does suspending Egypt's membership cancel what al-Azhar has done to preserve Islam for a 1,000 years against the ferocious colonialist attacks from one end of the world to the other? Does suspending Egypt's membership cancel this role? Not at all. Does suspending Egypt's membership abolish the fact that Egypt, after Mecca, is the point to which every Muslim in the world turns his eyes? It does not abolish this fact at all.

## Responsibility

I wanted to mention this to you so that we may know what responsibility we face these days with you. I am not talking about food security, not about the housing problem, not about the infrastructures and not about what we are suffering because plans are being made for these issues by specialized people. These plans will be presented to you, and to the entire people, in your capacity as being responsible not only for Islam but also for whatever concerns your homeland, your people and your future generations. I am talking about your primary responsibility toward Islam and toward the call for Islam. I begin by saying this and by telling the entire world that we know our Islamic responsibilities and we are aware of them, and so are numerous Islamic peoples in Africa and Asia and many Arab peoples who have not been pleased with the actions of their rulers. What has happened has been due to no reason other than malice against Egypt, against Egypt's status and against what Egypt has attained.

## True Islam Is Here

We need to remember this and I mention it at the outset of my address to you because as a result I will ask you to state your opinion on this and on what has caused Egypt's Islamic role to be involved in these trivialities to which Saudi Arabia and those who follow its course and run behind it, namely Morocco, [have led]. I want you to state your opinion on this. They say that Islam in Egypt is in danger. All of you here are men of the Islamic call.

Within earshot of the entire world, I say that we are proud that the true Islam is here in Egypt. Egypt is the island of freedom, democracy and man's dignity as desired by Islam. There isn't in Egypt a ruler who gets a salary of 8 million pounds of the money of Muslims. There isn't in Egypt a ruler who spends money on gambling tables while Muslims in many parts of the world are suffering. There isn't in Egypt a ruler who spends the money of Muslims on plotting, bribery and baseness just to build an imaginary leadership. Not at all. We in Egypt are fully aware of the limits. What have all those who spoke before me today demanded? Further application of the Islamic Shari'a and further adherence to the faith. But I ask: What is the situation of the peoples of those rulers? Not only the Islamic peoples in the remotest parts of the world are in need of help but so are the peoples of these rulers. Do these peoples truly enjoy the dignity of the Muslim citizen in his country? Without excluding a single one of these countries, the Muslim there does not enjoy the full dignity of the Muslim, the full dignity of the human being and the full democracy and tolerance, that are advocated by Islam, as they are enjoyed by the Muslim here.

## Battle of Challenge

We have many problems, as I have told you. We have material problems--food, housing, infrastructures and a proper standard of living for every citizen. We are working for this. We are working to achieve this. But primarily and before everything else, we will not be able to triumph in the battle of the challenge we are facing today without building anew the male and female citizen of Egypt.

No, this is not a new building. But because we passed during a previous period through conditions under which man's dignity and the Egyptian man were unjustly subjected to things that they should not have been subjected to and which have ended, God be thanked, since I launched the 15 May revolution and redesigned and rearranged all the conditions--I say that we are now in the battle of the challenge that will turn Egypt into an honorable and impregnable homeland as it has been throughout the ages. The one who will make this event is the Egyptian man, and I do not say the new Egyptian man but the Egyptian man who possesses the components that we neglected for a time and to which we have now returned.

When the young Egyptian man and woman are full of confidence and have the strength of faith--keeping in mind the limits drawn up for us by our Shari'a--we will build the edifice that we want because we have tried ourselves before and we achieved maximum success. The most eloquent example we can cite--"and your God's blessings do recount"--is the Ramadan battle of 1973.

## Faith

In the Ramadan battle of 1973, our weapons were 20 steps behind the Israeli weapon. What made up for those 20 steps and made our weapon more advanced [potent] than our enemies' weapons at that time? One word--faith. On these shores that extend 180 kilometers from Port Said to Suez and on the canal bank and when the Egyptian air force flew over [to the Israeli side] at 1400 on 10 Ramadan, our sons did not await the orders to cross but their multitudes rushed forward along 180 kilometers from Port Said to the Suez chanting one call: God is great. This is true and not a tale that we tell with embellishments or claims of something that never happened. This did happen. We were 20 steps behind Israel in peace but with faith we got 20 steps ahead.

## Youth First

It is on the basis of this that I talked to the youth. Before meeting with the youth sectors in Ramadan, I had met with them earlier and told them that before everything, before university education, before the doctorate and before technology, let us arm ourselves first and arm our youths from within with faith. After this, education is easy. Everything will enter [go smoothly]. After this, they will be able to face life. The most dangerous battle we are facing today is the battle of building Egypt with the most advanced instruments of the age. We will not at all start where the others started. We will start where the others have ended because this is the Egypt with its 7,000 years during which it gave the world its first civilization when the world lived in caves and subsisted on tree leaves. We had here then a civilization, astronomy and state and governmental structures. This is your message. We should start building the Egyptian youth from within. This is why I have asked that religion constitute a fundamental discipline--a discipline that determines success and failure--as of the beginning of the next academic year. I have also asked that religion be taught from the elementary stage to the university stage. There will be no truce [wavering] in this. All I demand is that our methods be developed. I heard my daughters study Koran phrases and I asked them to memorize them. I tell you that I thank God today. I am celebrating not only meeting with you so that we may apply the principle of consultation and so that we may begin a new phase with a totally new state, but I also thank God that I concluded [memorizing] the Koran today. We the peasants are accustomed to celebrating the day on which the Koran [memorization] is concluded the way we celebrate any holiday or religious occasion. Rather, this day is a bigger celebration.

## Conclusion of Koran

I thank God that I have concluded today. I thank God, may He be praised, that He has enabled me to read the Koran, to conclude the Koran and to begin my education and my life with memorizing the Koran. This is why I tell you that when my daughters showed me the phrases they were required to memorize [I found that] they are among the most difficult phrases of the Koran to read--why? I remember 1927; I will never forget it. It was 1927 and I was at the beginning of my elementary school. Teaching us the Koran started with the easy and

understandable stories of the prophets. These stories open up--by their quality--the horizons of imagination before the child. A child is full of imagination in this stage. So, let us provide him with what nourishes his imagination and gives him the first joys of the future religious education. We have not forgotten until this moment the day in which our teacher told us the story of the angels who opened the chest of the prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, one day after he had taken his sheep to pasture, got the devil out of it and then washed the chest. Some westernized people or those who call themselves rationalists, philosophers or atheists may cast doubt on this story. But the fact remains that since the day I was told this story when I was a child in the first years of my life, I learned that there is good and there is evil, that there is a devil that dwells in man's heart, that man should rid himself of this devil or should make sure that this devil does not control his actions. This is why I demand that religion teaching start at the elementary stage with the stories of the prophets. We have among our esteemed education professors those who can do better in this direction than what I am saying or do more to achieve this goal. I may (not be very well versed) on this issue and I just wanted to give you an example.

#### Religion Fundamental Principle

As of the beginning of the next academic year, our young men and women will study religion as a fundamental discipline. As I have said, this discipline should start in the elementary stage and continue to the last university stage. I will also ask that the fundamental components of the national history be taught, also beginning with the elementary stage. What I mean by the fundamental components are those landmarks that we teach to these tender souls so that they may be able to face life afterwards--such as teaching them that man is made of mind, body and soul and that the mind has its food, the body its food and the soul its food. They should also know that any imbalance in the nourishment of any of these components will cause an imbalance in the human structure--all in a simple and easy method. Among the components that we should teach our children is what strength is. Is strength in muscles, in loud voice or in the disavowal of values? No, strength is something else. Strength comes from man's feeling before God and from his inner feeling that he is right. This is the strength that makes man the strongest of the strong and that makes him face all that life brings. I have tried this strength in my life and I thank God that it has never failed me.

#### True Islam

In the fundamental components, we should also teach our children that God, may He be praised, is right, that good is right, that justice and whatever makes life honorable is right and that venerating parents is right. You cannot imagine how annoyed I was after 18 and 19 January when I invited the Federation of University Students. The federation [delegation] included a youth who had grown a beard as if to tell us that he had reached the epitome of piety. You remember that he was uncouth and loathsome. Does Islam consist of uncouthness and foulness? Does not Islam teach love, gentle words and faith which make a human being balanced in all his life and which open his heart and his soul to

people and to everything? This, not foulness, is Islam. Regrettably, this student comes from among those who have grown their beards and who have led the religious societies about which they talk in the universities.

### Is This Islam?

Venerating father, mother and values [sentence incomplete]. Values, God, may He be praised [sentence incomplete]. You are all my teachers and better than me. Our grand imam is next to me. "If they [your parents] try to make you share with Me an associate that you do not know, do not obey them and deal with them gently in the world." It [the Koran] says this. At the same time God says He does not forgive setting up associates with Him. This is a definite restriction. "O my worshippers that have over-indulged, do not despair." Do not despair even when you over-indulge. But there is a definite restriction, namely not to set up associates with Him. Regarding the parents, He tells us not to obey them [if they try to make us worship other gods along with Him] but orders us to talk to them gently.

### 'Umar al-Talmasani Censured

This is the edifice that we want and not the edifice that some in the religious groups want. Here, I will proceed to censure. 'Umar al-Talmasani had a censure [for me] and I have something to censure him for.

'Umar al-Talmasani: Perhaps the consequences of your censure will be praiseworthy. [Laughter and applause from audience].

President al-Sadat: The Muslim Brotherhood sent through its lawyer a warning or a notification to Mamduh Salim, the former prime minister, that it does not recognize the Revolution Command Council's decree dissolving the society and that this decree is not extant. I did not learn of this [notification] until after Mamduh Salim's resignation. Had I known of it, I would have said: No, sorry. The decree is real and extant. I am stating this before all of you. The society [Brotherhood] has issued its paper, with its editorial which is written by Mr 'Umar, on the grounds that the society is registered in the [Ministry of] Social Affairs. Yes, the society is registered but the decree abolishing it is extant. Despite this, have I sent for you and put you under arrest for this? What makes the matter more bitter for me is to have [editorials] written for our youth--about whose development I am talking so that they may face the challenge surrounding us and face the challenge of those who think that money is everything, the Saudis and others, and who are trying to suspend Egypt's membership in the Islamic world with utter insolence and impudence.

### In whose interest is this?

'Umar al-Talmasani issues the [Islamic Brotherhood magazine--AL-DA'WAH] with a frontpage article saying that Mamduh Salim received a message from the U.S. administration or the U.S. intelligence telling him: Beware and watch the Islamic groups. They are very dangerous. Strike them and get rid of them. Is this true? This method made me so sad and it must end. After all that

happened in the past, 'Umar--as you yourself exactly said--and after I opened all the jails and detention camps, rehabilitated you, established the supremacy of the law and gave full freedom [you still write this]. You mention a magazine and nobody objects, even though the publication of this magazine is illegal and should be stopped immediately. Not at all. But in whose interest? The youth? What I say is that we should accept the challenge and build for Egypt the great Islamic edifice which starts with man over whom there is no power other than the power of God, may He be praised. How can I [you] say that the United States sent a message of scare? How can I [you] depict the Egyptian government which has given all this [freedom] as a government that receives [instructions] from the United States or from others telling it to round up the Islamic groups? This is sabotage. It sabotages our youth who will imagine, regrettably, that these statements contain the truth. Don't you remember the time when there was semi-Soviet intervention before I prepared for my battle and when I was in the direst need of the Soviet Union to supply me with arms to wage my battle, when my relations with the United States were severed and when I was attacking the United States violently? At that time, there was suspicion that they [Soviets] wanted to interfere and I ordered 17,000 Soviet experts to leave Egypt within a week. I set the deadline and 24 hours before that deadline, the Soviets carried out the order. I want us to build our youths on right, strength and genuineness and not on rumors. I also want the course of the Muslim Brotherhood to be different from its past course before 23 July [1952].

Why hasn't anybody harassed you?

I attest--and you know, everybody knows and Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman knows--that my hand was in the hand of Shaykh al-Banna, may God have mercy upon his soul. The secret organization with its personalities is before me [known to me]. There were weapons in it. But what have we done? Despite all this, nobody has harassed you and I have not shut down your paper. But I have asked the minister of interior to tell you: This is disgraceful. He did actually tell you this. All I want is for us to fraternize [nata'akha] and to build our sons with the provisions that top education and top everything--with faith. [With faith] the Egyptian citizen, man or woman, can enter 'he fire and emerge unharmed. I want us to build this religion on the truth and on goodness. I have absolutely no power to impose authority [sic], to open detention camps, to take revenge or to harbor malice, as 'Umar himself has said. The Muslim soul harbors no malice and no malice lives in it. I thank God that malice never lives in my chest, especially since I know my limits before my God, may He be praised, and since I know that I am responsible for the remotest sand of grain in Egypt, from the east to the west and from the north to the south, and that I will be brought to account for it.

This Should not Be Repeated:

This is why I want this to be the conduct of every one of us who deals with religion and who teaches religion to our future generations. As a result of this--of the old course--I demand that this course not be followed again because I will block it before the people. I do not do things behind closed doors. I do everything in the open. As a result of this [old course], young

kids attacked the Technical Military [College], as you know, and slaughtered its guards like sheep in the name of religion--in the name of religion. They were Muslim Brothers. They were one of the branches that emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood. Shukri Mustafa assassinated Dr al-Dahabi. Who of us did not condemn what happened to Dr al-Dahabi. This is shameful. Shukri Mustafa was originally a Muslim Brother. I am taking this opportunity to speak frankly before you as the man in charge. I am not the president of the republic now. The president of the republic should abolish the Muslim Brotherhood and abolish its paper until it registers itself anew because it has no legal presence. I am not the president of the republic itself anew because it has no legal presence. I am not the president of the republic to do this. No, I am the head of the family and God, may He be praised, has put me in charge of you. I do not ask what I should do with each of you [sic].

#### Islamic Group

This is why I am speaking frankly. Now some so-called Islamic groups have emerged with calls that mislead our sons. In whose interest is their deception? If we want to give our children lessons from history, then let us give them complete and undiminished lessons and not have some people who focus on the tender youth to incite them, and they are by their nature easy to incite and instigate, against this or that. Matters have reached with the Islamic groups the point where one of their members went to tell his father: The money you take from the state is illicit and I don't want your money. Their acts then turned into crimes. You heard me say in al-Minya and Asyut that these groups burn [newspaper] kiosks and that some of them enter the auditoriums and kick out the professors to stop teaching. Is this Islam? They saw a man walking with his daughter in al-Minya and said to him: How can you walk with a girl. He answered: This is my daughter. So, they asked him for a birth certificate [to prove that she was his daughter]. God, may He be praised, said to Muhammad: "You will not control them. Call to your God's path with wisdom and exhortation."

I am taking this opportunity to tell you all that is in my heart because after this I will not, by God, have mercy [for crimes committed in the name of] Islam and religion. I can never put the interest of the group and of Egypt in a balance with which the likes of such people tamper. They push matters too far. A young kid from al-Minya belonging to these groups was printing pamphlets in Cairo. When he was seized, he had in his possession 800 pounds and pamphlets full of attacks on the regime and the state. I am saying this after having told you about the challenge we are facing, both domestically or externally. At home, we have to solve the difficult problems and externally, we have to face, regrettably, our brothers, put them in their place and teach them what Egypt is. But first we must set ourselves aright from within.

#### No Religion in Politics

This is why I have declared and said that there is no religion in politics and no politics in religion. Some tried to exploit these words. I will now repeat them: No religion in politics and no politics in religion. For anybody who wants to engage in political action, the parties are present and so let him

proceed and exercise his full right. But for religion to be exploited to pounce on the state or to attack the state, no. This is shameful. This is why there is a number of imams--some of whom, brother 'Umar, are Muslim Brothers and some supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood--who use the mosques to attack the state.

#### State Will not Be Tolerant:

Let them all know that the state will not be tolerant with anybody from now on. I owe you advice and I have given it to you and I owe you a chance and I have given it to you. The responsibilities facing us at home and abroad require us, as I have told you, to strike this deviation--to strike it. I ask you to strike it. You must strike it with your conduct first and by teaching our children, secondly, the sound facts about our history, our religion, our efforts and our work.

Nine years ago, the detention camps were closed finally and have never been re-opened. I promise you that they will not be reopened in my time. You must tell those who follow me this fact. But in my time, the detention camps will never be opened, God willing. In my time, I have not resorted to the martial law until this moment, even though it is present.

In my time, there has been security, safety and full freedom. But [we say] no to the attempt to exploit freedom. The state is hospitable to itself and dear to itself and it is now time for all to know that the state is above all these trivialities and above those who accept them under any slogan--and the biggest catastrophe is for religion to be this slogan. No,

#### Brotherhood and Communists

What was the reason for my saying no religion in politics and no politics in religion? I also sent to you, 'Umar [sentence incomplete]. In the [election] battle for the chairmanship of one of the professional unions, a very strange thing happened. I was surprised to find the Brotherhood, the communists, the old Wafdist and all the opportunists rallying behind a certain candidate because he insults the state.

I sent to 'Umar telling him: 'Umar, this is shameful. Does religion call for electing whoever insults the state or elect somebody whose sole qualification is foulness? All the qualifications of that man were his foul attacks on the regime and on me. Insofar as I am concerned, you know that I am tolerant because God has wanted me to be in this place and to suppress my wrath. I have completely memorized the Koran and God has ordered me to suppress wrath.

At this point, 'Umar al-Talmasani said: Isn't it my right to answer?

The president said: Let me finish, 'Umar.

The president then went on to say: Is it possible to have in the same boat a Muslim Brother, a communist and a new Wafdist who destroyed all the old corrup-

tion of the opportunists before 23 July [1952]? I am placing these facts before you for the first time. I have never disclosed them before and I am divulging them now because we are approaching the new phase and we must all stand like a single family and one man to face the challenge, to solve the problems at home and to face the midgets and the dwarfs abroad and teach them what their true dimension is. I only ask for one thing of our religious groups, namely not to accept money from those dwarfs because we have the (report). If the money is intended for the service of Islam, then it is welcome, provided that it is given openly. But if given in other ways, then no.

'Umar wants to defend himself and he has the right to because I may have concentrated on him a little bit. He had asked to see me and I refused to meet him until today so that he may speak before the people because this is my method. I will only speak before the people so that they may learn the full truth. I harbor malice toward no one, otherwise I would have taken the necessary measures at the time and given myself rest.

President al-Sadat addressing 'Umar al-Talmasani: Please go ahead, 'Umar.

#### We are not With Communists

'Umar al-Talmasani: The communist party leaders invited me more than once to attend their symposiums and I turned down the invitation every time because I know what enmity exists between Islam and the communists and I know that the two cannot meet in the same bandwagon or march in the same procession. I am fully aware that they invited me to attend the symposiums not because they cooperate and want to participate in the same direction but because they want to publish to the people the picture of 'Umar al-Talmasani sitting with the communist leaders so that it may be said that the Brothers and the communists are united. The Brothers and the communists will never be united.

Some of the parties about which your excellency has spoken also invited me to visit them and I said: If it is a visit for greetings and for inquiring about ordinary matters, then the invitations are welcome. But if they are for the purpose of political discussions about fronts, then the Muslim Brotherhood will not march in a front with anybody because its history is a well-known Islamic history.

#### British Embassy:

Mr President, the British Embassy sent me a letter informing me that an official of the Foreign Office was to visit Egypt and visit me at 1200 on 22 June. I sent the letter to the minister of the interior, attaching to it a letter of my own in which I said that I would not allow the visit unless given the permission to do so [by the government]. Only if the visit is for press landmarks, then it is welcome. If it is political, I will not talk to a foreigner on Egypt's policy. Had somebody other than you [president] accused me, I would have appealed to you. But now to whom can I appeal. I appeal to God. I am innocent of all that you have said. I am free of all you have said. I am clean. I am a Muslim and I am extremely loyal. Many hear me. I have implored God to make

al-Sadat's rule last as long as possible. We are enjoying our freedom under it. If this is my reward from Anwar al-Sadat, then I thank God and God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Epitome of Democratic Dialogue:

President al-Sadat: I am afraid that you want to show me as having exploited my position to address these words to you, 'Umar. No. How many times did the minister of the interior summon you, 'Umar?

'Umar al-Talmasani: You know, your excellency, that I was in Saudi Arabia during the elections. One of the brothers informed one of the prominent ministers of this fact. I was making my pilgrimage.

President: No, during the union elections?

'Umar al-Talmasani: The elections concerning Ahmad al-Khawajah and al-Shurbaji? The papers published the names of lawyers belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood and I was astounded and inquired of one of these lawyers. If you want me, I will bring him to your excellency to visit you and tell you [what happened]. This lawyer told me that both sides used our names without our permission. These are election matters and we have nothing to do with either side. If anyone says that I ordered or instructed so and so to support so and so, then I deserve all you have said about me.

President al-Sadat: 'Umar, to make matters clear and so that I may not be unfair, did not the minister of interior inform you of this and notify you on the issue of the article? So, I have not mentioned incidents in which I have been unfair and which did not take place. I have taken no measures and I will take no measures [against you]. Otherwise, the approach would not have been this approach that we are following today. So, you have no right to complain about me to God because I fear Him. I truly fear Him. 'Umar, had there been a pre-meditated intention or opinion, I would not have let your paper go on publishing without a legal basis and I would not have let the Muslim Brotherhood continue to exist on an illegal basis, and it is still existing illegally until this moment. If there had been premeditated intentions, I would have taken the necessary measures, and the law is on my side. No, I am talking today as the head of the family whom God has willed to fill this seat.

God knows that I want to have rest from all this. This is, by God, true. But I have preferred to postpone. This thing has been going on for months and here we are meeting today. Perhaps you don't remember or you don't know that I asked Mansur [minister of state for presidency], telling him that I want 'Umar to be present [at this meeting] because it had not been originally planned for you to attend. I told him: I want 'Umar to come in the sense that I have made clear, namely that we are one family and should sit together and discuss matters with utter frankness. Then, whoever is wrong must shoulder the consequences of his mistake. Had I formed a premeditated opinion or condemnation, I would have taken the measure [necessary] and there would be no reason for you to be here today.

So, withdraw your complaint to God. [Laughter and applause]

'Umar al-Talmasani: The socialist prosecutor summoned and interrogated me. May, June, July and August have passed since the interrogation and I don't know what has been done. However, I believe that if there had been any wrongdoing or violation, the socialist prosecutor would not have hesitated to sue me and to adopt a legal measure. This has not happened. I am fully prepared to state in the presence of Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Muslim, that the ethics, religion and upbringing of 'Umar al-Talmasani cannot permit him to plot, lie or utter insults. No, by God, never. The first words my tongue uttered when I was in the detention camp and was awakened to be told that so and so [Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir] had died were--after having spent 17 years in jail: May God have mercy upon him. Not a single word of abuse came out of my mouth, not even after 17 years in jail. The first words were: May God have mercy upon him. I am not the one to plot, lie or vituperate. I have reached an age that does not permit me to follow such a course.

I beg your pardon, Mr President, but you are going to cause me to be bedridden for months now because of what has been addressed to my ears psychologically and morally. I implore God to be kind to me at this age, not to let me be bedridden and to let me depart this world immediately rather than be bedridden with illness.

If I complain to God, I complain to the Just and if I have made unfair accusations, then God will know. I do not appeal to the unjust. I appeal to the Just Who has the power and with Whom all fates end. Instead of my withdrawing my complaint, your excellency should follow a path to deal with all the trouble I have suffered.

#### We Start Anew:

President al-Sadat: The best way to deal with all this is [to realize that] all we have talked about has taken place and is past history. We should all now start with unity to build the edifice.

'Umar al-Talmasani: I want a private meeting with your excellency. I have a lot to tell you and I cannot say it now.

President al-Sadat: I am sorry I have kept you so long and the session has gone on for such a long time. My concern is to give you a picture [of the situation]. Despite the exchange with 'Umar, is my purpose to hurt 'Umar?

No, I do not harm the Brothers or the Muslim Brotherhood. They know that one day I had my hand in Shaykh al-Banna's hand when we were struggling against a common enemy--the British, the king and the parties.

Supreme Islamic Council:

I believe that we should save you time and I propose that we, his eminence the grand imam and you, brothers, should take this opportunity to form a supreme Islamic council in which all the Islamic societies and Islamic activities are represented. It will be a family council. Should anything develop, we will hold the council to discuss everything with utter frankness, fraternity and friendship and with all the tolerance, truthfulness and trust that Islam has taught. I ask God to give them all success in overcoming this tribulation. Thank you.

President al-Sadat had begun his dialogue with the Muslim clergymen at 2130 and the meeting was attended by Husni Mubarak, the vice president of the republic; by 'Abd-al-Rahman Bisar, the grand imam and the shaykh of al-Azhar; Hasan al-Tuhami, the deputy prime minister; Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, the minister of Awqaf; Shaykh Jad al-Haqq, the mufti of Egypt; Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker; Mansur Hasan, the minister of state for the presidency; the heads of the Islamic sects and the Koran Memorization Society.

Text of Addresses:

The session started with an address from Dr Ahmad al-Hufi, chairman of the National Party's Religious Affairs Committee, who said:

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate:

Mr President Anwar al-Sadat, the head of the Egyptian family: We are here to exchange views on what the family should do with its future. If we try to enumerate your numerous virtues and feats, we would need a long time. We have known you since your youth writing articles and leading people in prayer. We have known you as a most pious president who fears God in word and in deed. We, the custodians of religious education, want to implant that simple piety in the souls of our children because Islam is a faith founded on simplicity and accessibility. As for those who turn radical and fanatic and who proscribe what God has permitted, they have nothing to do with religion. We want to build a religious education on a sound basis. We also want to tell you, Mr President, about the impact of your religion on Egypt's victory in 1973. It was a victory that was not due to heroism alone or to weapons alone but to the fear of God primarily. We all know your heart, your justice, your peacefulness and your compassion for the entire people. This is where Islam is. War in Islam is a necessity and peace is the rule: "If they tend toward peace, then you too turn to peace and trust in God." We tell you that the people are behind you and that they support and back you up in your position toward those who oppose peace. We, the clergymen and the custodians of religion, are with you and around you. We support and back you and beseech God, may He be praised, to keep you for Egypt so that you may achieve for us every aspiration. God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Shaykh Muhammad al-Sutuhi, the grand shaykh of the Sufi ways of life [brotherhoods], then delivered an address in which he said:

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate:

Faithful president and head of the family, the meeting with your excellency is an affirmation of the principle of consultation. God willing, Egypt's human and civilizational edifice will be built on your hands. A country whose slogan is science and faith and which contains al-Azhar will continue to be a vanguard of the Islamic world. We, the Sufists everywhere, are immune to the radical atheism and communism. We ask for greater cooperation from al-Azhar in supporting our message and religion basically. Religion is love and a Muslim is a person who does the Muslims no harm with his hand or his mouth. The edifice requires efforts. If one of you does his work, God loves to see him do it well. Mr President, we request support for our group because it incurs expenses of nearly 6,000 pounds in publishing its magazine. God give you success and His peace and mercy be upon you.

Muhammad 'Awadayn then delivered an address in which he said: We, the youth, have no demands other than for Egypt solely while the head of the family is sitting with the sons of the people. There is a starting point that is most important to the issue of amending the constitution, and even our life and our continued survival. This point is to rule in accordance with what God has revealed [the Koran]. Many have spoken on this point and it can be said that there is nothing on which all the parties have agreed other than rule in accordance with God's revelation.

The last [sic] address was by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Maqsud, the chairman of the General Society for the Preservation of the Venerable Koran, who said:

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate: Mr President, we thank God, the wisest of all rulers, Who has gathered us here for the good. We are in dire need of spiritual security, in addition to the food, intellectual and social security. In the name of the venerable Koran and the name of the General Society for the Preservation of the Venerable Koran, it pleases me to present to you some of the recommendations reached by the society:

It proposes the formation of a specialized higher committee to purge the sources of Islamic thought of all lies infused into Islam, to translate the Koran into all languages and to disseminate these translations to Muslims in all parts of the world.

Gradual efforts to unify the sources of education and to direct it toward a Koran-oriented course.

The state must devote attention to the Koran memorization societies and to seeing that the Koran and religious studies proceed hand-in-hand with scientific studies.

Set up a modern printing press to print the venerable Koran in its various scripts to rest assured that the Koran is beyond any distortion that takes place in the process of printing or of binding.

'Abd-al-Maqsid then presented to the president a gift consisting of the peace and victory shield, another consisting of the venerable Koran shield for the first lady of Egypt and 15 more copies of the Koran for the president and his family.

'Umar al-Talmasani, the chief editor of AL-DA'WAH, delivered an address in which he said:

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate, and prayers and peace be upon the noblest of the messengers:

Mr President, the citizens follow up these meetings with interest, imploring God that the meetings may produce good and big benefits for the homeland. They are right in this. However, the citizens censure a little some of those who attended the previous such meetings and made special requests. These meetings are not meant to serve the interest of a special group. They are for the entire nation and this is why your excellency will not hear a special request from the Islamic call campaign. Mr President, when you came to power, jails and detention camps were abounding with chains. But you opened their doors [releasing their residents], allowed the holding of celebrations and symposiums where people can speak with utter freedom and permitted the press to be bold and to criticize.

Those who emerged from the prisons proceeded to this nation with the message of peace, spreading love and harmony which are more important than any law. As long as the hearts are bound together, they will provide the protection, guard and support. It is out of God's favors on us that people have proceeded to speak of this.

It remains for us to say that whoever attends [these meetings] demands reforming the broadcasting stations, the street and everything in this country. We can all do without these details and apply God's law. People can proceed everywhere, restricted by God's book and his prophet's sunna. This is sufficient security and safety. When our hearts are tied to God and when you call for the jihad, you will find everybody behind you--you who call for the jihad. We will all thus be one heart abounds with faith and who turns his face sincerely toward God never harbors malice for anybody. A Muslim wants good for people, so how can an advocate calling for God bear malice for people? We all want what is good for you. May God preserve you for this country to set God's shari'a in it aright. A single word will see the people's hearts devoted to Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat. Lead us by God's book and you will find from us what pleases you. We love and do not hate and we wish you all the good from God, may He be praised. March with God's blessing and peace and God's mercy be upon you.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Banna, the brother of Shaykh Hasan al-Banna [the late founder and leader of the Muslim Brotherhood], delivered a word in which he said:

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate:

Mr President, you invited us to Islam and we owed it to you to respond. We owe it to the people to explain Islam as the law, the justice and the final judge.

The venerable Hadith says: "The dearest among you to Me are those with the highest ethics, those who are humble and those who are sociable." [Loose translation]. Our teacher Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, may God's mercy be upon his soul, used to advocate God's path with wisdom and gentle exhortation. The youth must know this and anybody who has such a character will have a simple and gentle call that harbors no fear and no terror. "Good deeds and bad deeds cannot be equated. Try with good deeds and you will find that he with whom you have enmity shall turn int. a dear friend."

We demand, Mr President, that we abide by God's book in all our legislation and our law-making. I have this invocation of God for you: God open his heart to the guidance of your book, open for him the gates of your mercy and protect him. God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

8494  
CSO: 4802

LEGAL RELATIONSHIP OF ISLAM AND CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY DISCUSSED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 14 Aug 79 p 10

[Text] Finally Iran's representatives have been selected. Now, according to Imam Khomeyni, our major task is to review the Constitution. But reviewing only the actual law without deliberating the theoretical principles and philosophical foundations of Islamic jurisprudence does not represent the review contemplated by Imam Khomeyni. After the establishment of the Council of Experts we will naturally bring our issues in line with those under discussion in that Council. Since that Council has not yet been established, we are going to analyze basics in this article, so as to provide an introduction for future deliberations in that Council.

A - Why have we entitled our article "Legal Relationship of Islam and Constitutional Authority?" The answer to this question must be sought in the connection with the bloodstained Islamic Revolution and the glorious referendum of 10 Farvardin [30 March] when the heroic Iranian people has cast its decisive vote for the establishment of the Islamic Republic. Generally, after a nation chooses its political system through a referendum, the Constituents' Assembly or the Council of Experts may no longer draw up a Draft Constitution which might contravene the political system already chosen. For example, if the Iranian nation had chosen a people's democratic republic as its political system, the Constitution would have to be formulated along Marxist legal and philosophical principles. Since Iranians have now voted for a theocracy and, moreover, since Islam is a comprehensive system, encompassing all individual and social facets of life along with detailed rules governing them, the Constitution and all laws to be approved from now on in Iran will have to be consistent with the overall spirit and detailed Islamic rules. Precisely because of this we are carrying out our review of the Constitution in conformance with Islam.

B - What is the Constitution?

The second issue to be discussed here is to see what is the Constitution, what areas does it cover, and, generally, how does it differ from other laws?

The subject matter of the Constitution fundamentally differs from that of other laws. Issues covered by the Constitution, and more generally by constitutional authority, deal with "public power" and the ways and means governing the establishment of ties with the government. Issues covered by the Constitution consist of three chapters:

### 1 - Public Power Source and the Individual's Rights and Obligations In Relation to Public Power.

This chapter deals with the source of public power, its legitimacy, and the individual's obligations vis-a-vis the ruling body.

### 2 - Establishment of Organizational Relations Within the Public Power.

Usually, in order to forestall the "snowballing of power," public power is divided into three or so branches. Hereafter, in this article, we are going to discuss the separation of political powers, the jurisdiction of the country's three branches of government, and their responsibilities vis-a-vis one another.

In 18th and 19th centuries' classical and liberal laws, lawmakers thought that by merely separating political powers and defining the rights and responsibilities of the individual in relation to the government and vice versa, they could establish justice in society. They soon realized, however, that besides the official ruling body, there were other centers of power many of which surpassed in importance the government, Parliament, etc., namely economic tycoons and centers of "snowballing wealth."

That is why, since the early 20th century, countries whose peoples have revolted against capitalism have generally enacted laws limiting the extent of property and the economic regime of the country involved. Well before 20th century's lawmakers, Islamic jurisprudence had provided for detailed and precise rules governing the economic regime, which are readily available in the texts of Moslem jurisprudence and other sources. It must be pointed out that the importance of tycoons with snowballing wealth is not only not inferior to that of the official ruling body, but in capitalist countries, especially the United States, the control of the country's political life is practically directly influenced by czars with snowballing wealth and monopolies. Articles dealing with the establishment of the economic system and the country's financial regime have been added to the text of the Draft Constitution. Herebelow we are going to outline Islam's constitutional theories while reviewing the Draft Constitution.

### C - What is the Source of Public Power in Islam?

In view of the many Koranic Verses and Traditions which demonstrate the unquestionable and complete dominion of the Lord over all the affairs of existence, we deem it superfluous to elaborate on this issue. However, the issue which we must discuss here is how such a dominion manifests itself in politics.

In reply to this issue we must say that, in principle, God's rule manifests itself in two ways:

- 1 - Creation: both the physical and non-physical worlds of existence are influenced and governed by God's laws and commandments. The whole universe is run by a series of precise and systematic laws and is totally dependent on the complete dominion of God, which is a source of wonderment to any thinker.
- 2 - Prophets and their Messages: the second type of God's manifestation, the manifestation of God's dominion, is the enactment of laws and their communication through prophets to people, purporting that all people are obligated to observe them and that whoever violates them is Satan or blasphemous.

Islam's Shariat rules have been interpreted and explained in detail in Moslem jurisprudence.

Public power, as one of the important issues of social and political life has been reviewed. We now must see how God's complete dominion manifests itself in the area of public power.

We said that the whole universe depends and is governed by a series of orderly laws and is subjugated to God's will. Consequently all beings are a manifestation of divine power and each being is part and parcel of the manifestation of the absolute dominion of God. Likewise, in the area of constitutional authority and public power, such an absolute dominion is manifested in Man. And, as evidenced by the Koran, the Lord has chosen Man on earth for His caliphate. And, as evidenced by most Koranic commentators, such caliphates have been extended to all human beings, and not just to a few of them. ("Standards," pages 115 and 116, Volume I). We thus realize that public or political power has been entrusted by the Lord to Man. Hence, in the Draft Constitution, the source of power has been traced to public vote, that is, national elections, and plebiscite. Why? Because although rule stems from God and this rule is unquestionable and absolute, as evidenced by the Koran, such a rule has been entrusted to Man. Thus, in Koran's Verse 73, in the Chapter on "Parties," the Lord speaks about the Caliphate as trust. And because every trustee is obligated to carefully preserve and safeguard the trust, Man is likewise obligated to preserve that most precious jewel of society, namely political power, and prevent the hand of Satan or the blasphemous from reaching it. Should Man shirk from this responsibility, he will be accountable, just as any trustee is. The responsibility for protecting public power from the blasphemous is only a feature of Islam: other philosophies consider participation in public power as part of laws of Man, but not part of Man's obligations. For example, Man is free to participate in the functions of the Republic. If he

abstains from such a participation, he would not commit a crime. However, in Islam, being involved in public power is considered both a Man's right and his obligation. It is hoped that the Moslem nation of Iran may be able to act upon this divine message. Here we feel it is imperative to point out that, as mentioned above, in Koran's civil laws and the Prophet Mohammad's Traditions, rule has been interpreted as trust which great prophets, in turn, entrust to their committed and responsible Islamic jurisprudents. Great Islamic jurisprudents, such as Sheykh Ansari, Ashtiani, and Imam Khoneyni, have interpreted government and public power as the trusteeship of Islamic jurisprudence.

Consequently all public figures and statesmen are considered "amin" (trustees) in an Islamic government. Thus, it would be fitting if the Draft Constitution uses the noble Islamic term "amin". However, it is a shame that, like scores of other noble legal Koranic terms, the word "amin" has been forgotten.

In any event, for present and future statesmen and public figures of the Islamic Republic, we fervently pray that they might undertake to safeguard this responsibility imposed by the Shariat, which has been entrusted to them.

In closing I propose that the text of Article 3 of the Draft Constitution be amended as follows:

"The source of public power is divine rule which has been entrusted to Man and manifests itself through a plebiscite."

8291

CSO: 4906

HOW THE MOSLEM PROLETARIAT SURPRISED THE BOURGEOISIE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 12 Sep 79 p 10

Text The feeble mind of the superficial intellectuals could not even foresee the revolution, much less lead it!

Revolutionary decisiveness is a pressing need of our time under the present conditions.

The movement of the Moslem People of Iran, which has been set on the ideologic course under the guidance and leadership of Imam Khomeyni, has frightened the forces of alignment.

The Imam frequently has urged revolutionary decisiveness and, finally, as a result of the recent anti-revolutionary plots in every part of the country, he has assumed full command of the Armed Forces with his characteristic bravery and courage. The reason for writing these lines is that, under the present conditions, the recent events in the country require a special analysis.

John F. Kennedy, the deceased American President, who, from the very beginning, was one of the smugglers of narcotics and wine in the United States of America and, ultimately, was killed by those very same people and on behalf of rival companies, stated the facts regarding subjugated and aligned countries in the book "Strategy for Peace." Since America is one of the practitioners of imperialist policy, it might be a good idea to point out to the American population his view, which had been a warning. He said, "In subjugated countries aligned with us, when suddenly we realize that the aid we are giving them is only filling the pockets of the corrupt and vile leaders that are subjugating the people and this aid, which amounts to checks for several billion dollars, is cut off or we claim financial weakness vis-a-vis these governments, immediately, huge leftist demonstrations are staged in their streets, and the corrupt leaders, who again want tribute from us, immediately threaten us with these leftist forces and their power and say that, if the money does not arrive within the next few days, a communist revolution will take place there!! For the most part, however, our experience in oppressed

countries has been that, if a revolution has taken place, initially it took its inspiration from the nationalist forces; then it was corrupted by these same street leftists; and, ultimately, the military assumed power." At first, the Cuban Revolution was not a communist revolution but Fidel Castro, as a result of the pressure of American Imperialism, was forced to rely on the Social-Imperialism of Russia; even so, Cuba, a small country in the heart of America, still has not actively and against its will become a tool of Russian Imperialism. They say that, once, one of the American statesmen claimed that Cuba was like a club in the Soviet Union's hand and that, whenever the Soviet Union so desired, it could hit the West on the head. The Russians sent him a message saying, "You have it wrong. Now, it is the Soviet Union that is Cuba's club and is in Castro's hand and, whenever he so desires, he will hit America on the head." In our own country, however, if we look at the history of the struggles of leftist and communist groups, we realize that, basically, the communist forces were members of the bourgeoisie from the start and, for the most part, their financial position was secure and they did not need a revolution. Therefore, whenever the Moslem people of Iran started an uprising or movement, the first force that always started thinking of ways to exploit the freedom gained was this same bourgeoisie, which was aligned with the dictatorial regime. They would emerge from their shell and vilely disgrace the leaders of the people and, pretending to be leftists, they portrayed the leaders of the people as rightists and agents of Imperialism, and they paved the way for the reactionary Right to seize power. Then, they would withdraw into their shells and not say a word for years.

#### Street Demonstrations

During the term of Dr Mosaddeq, the deceased leader of the anti-imperialist struggles of eastern nations, when we were attacking the world-wide Imperialism of that time, i.e., the English, each time that Dr Mosaddeq, in the World Court, the Security Council, or the U.N., needed to have the complete solidarity of the Iranian people behind him, these people staged street demonstrations and, when we looked into these demonstrations, we found the dirty finger of the Pahlavi Court involved in them, because the Court wanted to demonstrate that the people of Iran did not solidly back Mosaddeq and his ideas. At the start of the nationalization of oil, the Nationalists' slogan was, "Nationalization of Oil Throughout the Country" and then the National Front of that time, when it announced a rally in Baharestan Square and when all of the groups had proclaimed their solidarity and participation, these people made public a society upon whose placards was written, "The Society to Combat the Imperialist Oil Companies of the South." It might be a good idea to go back a little way in order that we might understand the reason that the above slogan appeared. Let us discuss our situation after the Second World War, when a small measure of freedom had slipped into the subjugated countries because the superpowers were preoccupied. The allies had brazenly expelled Reza Khan Mir Panj from Iran, the Tudeh Party had become active, and the democrats in Azerbaijan had formed their own government through Pishevari and Gholam Yahya. Although the government was a good government and was made up of the proletarian class, nevertheless, when Qavamolsaltaneh, that agent of international Reactionism, visited the Soviet Union,

Social-Imperialism persuaded the Russians to abandon Azarbaijan and withdraw support from the so-called ruling proletariat in exchange for the oil of the North. In view of the agreement concluded by the U.N. that the superpowers would divide the world's resources among themselves, with only a little pressure, the Russians evacuated Azarbaijan. Later, Qavamol-Saltaneh invited Kaftaradzeh to Iran and the communists of that era lined the streets cheering him. In the end, Qavam, by order of the West, resigned and the commitment he had made regarding the oil of the North was not fulfilled, but the Government of Iran has never received permission to produce, drill for and extract the oil of Semnan because the Caucasus oil fields were damaged. This was the Soviet Government's first step when it abandoned its clients. During the time of Dr Mosaddeq, we saw that the leftists were the agents of the vile and conspiratorial Royal Court of that time and that numerous street marches and demonstrations were staged at a time when the country needed complete harmony. The leftists undermined the nationalist movement and, today, after 25 years, they consider that a mistake.

#### The Nationalist, Anti-Imperialist Movement

It might be a good idea to tell you who owns the social and decision-making clubs of these so-called democrats and leftist elements:

1. The House of Peace was in Ferdousi Avenue, opposite the cooperative and distribution store called Kucheh Sirk, and the house belonged to Major General Zahedi, who later staged the coup d'etat of 28 Mordad / 19 August / with CIA's backing. Most of their meetings were held here and, frequently, prominent Freemasons assembled in this house and spoke most eloquently with the comrades against the fascist government of Mosaddeq!!
2. The Democratic Youth House was on the former Qavamolsaltaneh Street in an old house which belonged to the Queen Mother, and once, when Mosaddeq was busy defending Iran in the Security Council, these people staged a riot around the house which resulted in intervention by the Army and the killing of a number of people. At that same time, the West was portraying Mosaddeq to the world as a fascist and an assassin by means of its mass media. (One should not ignore the fact that, at that time, the Shah was Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.)

Although we conversed with these comrades in the old days, under the present conditions where we have driven Imperialism back a step, we must preserve our unity so that we can give permanence to our nationalist, anti-imperialist movement. These people are still trying to generate strife among Iran's classes, and it was not clear with which class they identified. It is sufficient to say that, at that time, these people were called starched-collar communists because, basically, the forces of these people, who considered themselves against the superficial manner of thinking of the intellectuals, were very modern and more advanced than everyone else from the standpoint of thinking and dress.

In early May, these people staged a huge demonstration of brick factory workers which proceeded up to Mokhberoldowleh Square. England, not only terrified the national bourgeoisie which probably still existed at that time, but it announced to the world that Iran was on the verge of falling into the lap of Communism. Then, too, from 25-27 Mordad [16-18 August] and until the shameful coup d'etat of 28 Mordad was carried out, these people staged such disturbances and riots in every avenue, street and quarter that the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people (this majority exists in every country and will blindly go along with any incident as long as it does not damage its manner of thinking or life style) became fearful of the consequences of Mosaddeq's democratic government and it was persuaded to remain silent vis-a-vis the shameful coup d'etat. We saw that, with a few bankrupt military men, even though a strong, pro-Tudeh Party organization existed in the Army, they embarked on that disgraceful coup d'etat which, today, after 25 years and the sacrifice of approximately 60,000 martyrs, we still have not been able to eradicate.

#### Revolutionary Movement of the Moslem People

It should not be left unsaid that, on numerous occasions during Mosaddeq's term, these people unloaded trucks full of rocks, bricks and clubs along the route of the marches and used them against Mosaddeq's security police. Once, 156 policemen were wounded. After the coup d'etat, however, all at once there was no news about those marches and demonstrations, assuming they had taken place. Members of the Central Committee preferred fleeing to remaining behind, and they abandoned this place to the power of world-engulfing Imperialism and departed. Only Khosrow Ruzbeh remained, and even he, according to a member of this same bourgeoisie, was betrayed and arrested by the comrades because he opposed the policy of the Central Committee. He said, "Why flee? If our military forces are stronger, why not fight"? Today, we see that, on the one hand, Fereydun Keshavarz and, on the other hand, the comrades are accusing one another from every direction; whereas, the people of Iran already have condemned these people in their court and have acknowledged their accusations.

Today, the revolutionary movement of the Moslem people of Iran has succeeded under the guidance and leadership of Imam Khomeyni and it has been set on ideologic course. This has terrified the pro-alignment forces, because, from one direction, it promises to sever the interests of the imperialists and, from the other direction, it is seriously threatening the market of imported ideologies. Basically, the socialist economy does not have anything to offer compared to the monolithic economy that Islam sets forth. Therefore, we see that the forces of the Left are sitting shamefully along side the reactionary Right, like so many Matin Daftaris, and they are inciting street riots on one hand and border clashes on the other, and they are introducing all of these things in the name of democracy and the rights of laborers. Finally, they are giving America credit for the Moslem people of Iran's Islamic and ideologic revolution, even though it is 100 percent anti-American.

### The Feeble, Exhausted Brain of the Superficial Intellectuals

They may not know it but, if we try to study our revolution with their formulas and consider the weak masses which rose up from the lowliest quarter of the city and carried to fruition the revolution by relying on the true ideology of Islam, we realize that the Moslem proletariat and pious laborers, by relying on the philosophy of martyrdom which considers death for God eternal life, uprooted the aligned and vile regime of Zahhlavi Capitalism and that the feeble, worn out brains of the superficial intellectuals could not even predict that revolution with their imported formulas, much less lead it. This is where the aligned bourgeoisie and its intellectual cohorts and friends were taken by surprise and were beating a dead horse in vain.

Revolutionary decisiveness is an urgent need of our time under the present conditions and, certainly, it should have come about six months ago. It was and is perhaps the lack of attention of all of the popular forces from the standpoint of consultation with the Emam that created today's difficulties.

It is necessary to admit that this decisiveness must be exercised by a council of recognized, Moslem men, endorsed by the committee, under the leadership of the Emam, lest, along the way, some special group establish a dictatorship or, later, opportunists, who are everywhere, exploit the revolution.

8514  
CSO: 4906

## DEFENSE MINISTER EXPLAINS DETAILS OF FUTURE ARMY PLANS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 6 Oct 79 p 15

/Article: "Defense Minister Explains Details of Future Army Plans"/

/Text/ In a special interview with PARS NEWS AGENCY's correspondent, Dr Mostafa Chamran, minister of national defense, reiterated his views regarding reconstruction, purges, and the establishment of councils in the army and the creation of a unificationist society in the army.

At the beginning of this interview, regarding purges in the army, the minister of national defense stated "In general this army is the offspring of the government of satan, and the relations and regulations which dominated it in past years are not acceptable from the point of view of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Therefore, qualitative changes will occur in the structure of the army and purges will also be made in terms of individuals and their ways of thinking and conduct. Of course purges will not be in the sense of executions or, God forbid, prison or the like--our criterion in this process, going by Imam Khomeyni's statement, will be founded on three fundamental principles: first, persons who have killed or tortured people or taken them to trial and executed some; fortunately, the period for this group has come to an end. The second purge group is people who stole from the public treasury. This group is being brought to trial and will have to return the money to the treasury. The third group, by Imam Khomeyni's categorization, are perpetrators of small crimes; he has forgiven them all and our view is that they will not bother anyone any more. In facing the problem of former officers and men of rank, a philosophical, humanitarian view is being taken. In other words, we will not take a person who acted under compulsion to court or convict him; rather, we will consider people responsible in proportion to the free choice and will they had. We are well aware that people were subjected to a uniform intellectual and political platform under the conditions of the previous satanic regime and in the context of the atmosphere and environment which dominated the society, and they were so brainwashed that they committed acts without possessing the will or the power of decision to do so. Therefore such individuals' acts

are considered acts of compulsion and for this reason one must not consider this type of person, especially those personnel from lower classes, responsible, and trying or punishing them seems unjust. Likewise there are large numbers who for some reason are terrified of purges and think that such a purge will revolve around traditional behavior and customs or even personal and family relations, although this is not the case and under no circumstances do we want to engage in peripheral matters instead of this important one, nor will we emphasize it. The essential criterion in purges is self-sacrifice and loyalty to the Islamic revolution and the present government of Iran; that is, we will consider the extent to which an individual is loyal and committed to this regime and this system. If, God forbid, he does not believe in and have faith in this regime and this system, he will be removed. Aside from this, three basic principles will govern and control the purge process in the new criteria. First is reliance on Iran's independence and territorial integrity and self-sacrifice to the last drop of blood in guarding the Iranian revolution from north to south and from east to west; that is, persons who are not committed to Iran's independence and territorial integrity will clearly be part of the purge. We expect an officer, a soldier, to consider these his first national duty and his goal. Second is reliance on the Islamic revolution of Iran and its leader, Ayatollah Khomeyni. Therefore we will not put pressure on people who at times do not believe and have faith in this revolution from the intellectual and ideological point of view, in accordance with the criterion "there is no compulsion in religion," in order that these people will positively obey our beliefs and ideas, but we do believe that this government is an Islamic government and that anyone who wants to cooperate with it must believe in its ideologies in his heart, and we give ourselves the right respectfully to request a person, if he does not believe in this ideology, to work elsewhere in another job and leave this organization. Our third basic criterion is the government's sovereignty over its institutions, one of which is the army. That is, people serving in the army must be committed to the army command, the army laws and the sovereignty of the government. If someone - "is to destroy the army's command and organization and the basis of the government's sovereignty by turmoil and acts of sabotage, he is in our opinion a counterrevolutionary and will therefore be included in the purge by virtue of these criteria. At the present time, however, people who believe in these three criteria and work in accordance with them are to be honored by us, since we need them, and their past, their conduct, their personal morals and family conduct are not that great an object of attention as far as we are concerned."

In answer to the question whether the Army of Guards would be part of the army, the minister of national defense stated "The Army of Guards will not be included in the army. The philosophy behind the existence of the Army of Guards has always been that it must preserve its independence from the army and at the present time it is being administered under the supervision of the Council of the Revolution. Therefore it will also have an independent platform in the future."

### The Army's Tactical Policy

Regarding the army's tactical policy, he said "We believe that in the future the entire Iranian nation must consist of revolutionary soldiers, must bear arms in case of need and must fight foreign enemies and domestic conspirators, and the army will also emerge as a more technical specialized, modernized institution, in the sense that ordinary people who acquire military training over a period of a few months will in no way be able to use heavy weapons, airplanes, heavy artillery, large machine guns, rockets and so forth but that specialists are required to employ this new technology. Therefore our army will attract personnel who as a group will perform the role of such specialists and will put this system and this technology into operation, although ultimately the entire nation will constitute its troops. We are trying to set out plans where as in the Army of Guards, and similar to it, all the people will receive military training, will be armed in times of necessity, and, as soldiers joined together in the army, will fight against domestic and foreign conspiracies."

### Modernization of the Army

Regarding modernization of the army, the minister of national defense said "We will strive to raise the level of our army above that of others in the international or regional context from the scientific and technological standpoint, or at least keep our army at the average level of the others, and the units of the nation will constitute the ordinary soldiers of such an army."

The question was raised that since, from the standpoint of armaments, our army is dependent on the west and there is no possibility of changing this system, what, therefore, our relations with the west, from the armament standpoint and the matter of Western military advisors, will be? Dr Chamran said, "In the past, the west tried to make Iran dependent on it and, whereas we are certainly of the belief that we must preserve our political, economic and military independence from the east and the west, we therefore will enter discussions with the west concerning arms and advisors when they impose no condition or conditions upon us. We buy arms from them on a commercial basis and as long as they are ready to give us arms from the commercial standpoint we will accept them, but, if they want to impose conditions on us from the political standpoint, we will not accept them. At the present time the American government, from which a large amount of our arms has been purchased, is not prepared to give us large quantities of electronic accessories, nor will Iran be able to receive them under these conditions.

"Concerning the advisors, in the past their policy was always to have important, basic activities carried out by foreign advisors so that the Iranian would need the foreigners. Fortunately, however, Iran's noble, intelligent and perspicacious engineers, officers and noncommissioned officers have to a very large extent learned military tactics and technology and our specialists are able to perform them easily. It is also our

effort to keep Iran from needing any foreign advisor in the future and, if we call upon an advisor at the present time or if we have need for an advisor in a temporary capacity, it will be just for the business of giving some Iranian technicians instructions so that we may cease to need foreigners as soon as possible. We unanimously believe that it would be better for us not to accept extremely heavy, complex technologies which would cause us to develop a need for foreign advisors but to function with simpler technologies with which Iranian specialists would be able to operate."

#### Construction of the Army Infrastructure

Regarding the infrastructure of the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the minister of national defense said "As I have stated, our army was a satanic one in the past, and it took decades to create this personnel and system. Here we are obliged to make changes in it so that it may be justified in terms of the Islamic revolution of Iran. In examining this matter, we are emphasizing four subjects: first will be an intellectual and philosophical infrastructure for the army; second, a goal for the army; third, method; and fourth, results. The comparison we will make will be between the army which existed in the past and the army which we wish to create.

"Concerning the army's intellectual and philosophical infrastructure of the past, one can say that it was built on the basis of worship of the devil. Everything revolved around the axis of the Shah and all spokes ended at this hub. In the new system, we want to create an army which is founded on a philosophical basis of the worship of one God and differs totally from the infrastructure of the worship of an individual or a person.

"The second objective: In the previous satanic regime, the goal of the army was to preserve the privileges and advantages of a special class, in particular the 'person of the satan,' in the face of all other phenomena. In reality, this was protection of this satan's tyrannical government, defense of the imperialistic interests of foreign governments, defense of pacts like the CENTO treaty which was linked with imperialism and, in short, the promulgation of the West's doctrine in our country and conversion of this country into a base for Western imperialism in the Middle East. The goal of the new army, however, is to guard the future regime, defend the unificationist doctrine of Islam, guard the Islamic revolution of Iran, defend the country's independence and territorial integrity, combat all domestic and foreign conspiracies against this country's independence, reject commitments to western or eastern policies, and, in brief, continue to perfect the revolution in order to perfect man.

"Third, method. In the new system, we believe that one must obey the law and that commitment must be made to Islamic and humane criteria, to an expansion of awareness and growth to the maximum possible level, to study, to investigation, to education and to purification of the spirit along the correct road toward the Islamic revolution.

"Fourth, which is the practical result of these objectives and methods, one must say that the army was a club in the hands of the dictator and the devil against the people in the previous regime, whereas we want the army to bring about the creation of a popular system in the new regime--not to have the country make sacrifices on its behalf but to consider that it exists for the whole people, is at the disposal of 35 million Iranians, and stands with strength, will and determination against enemies and conspiracies, guarding the country's independence and acting as the people's greatest support in advancing the goals of the revolution and preserving the country's territorial security.

"This is our intellectual infrastructure for the new army system, and we will create qualitative changes in the army which we will cause to emerge, God willing, with education and purification."

#### The Councils

Concerning the re-establishment of councils in the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the minister of national defense said "We accept the notion of the council and implement it.

"Three months ago a number of noncommissioned army officers met with the prime minister and talked with him about the councils. The prime minister promised them this and the limits of the councils were even determined; these were acceptable to the officers. The councils, as an absolute principle, will perform a consultative role, giving ideas, requests and recommendations to the command. The command will also pay attention to the councils and make use of them in accordance with requirements and needs but of course will not be compelled to implement these recommendations 100 percent. Another matter which has been raised for the councils is that people admitted to the councils must possess specific conditions and characteristics. No one must enter a council and speak for it. People must be selected who accept the relations, regulations and criteria of the Islamic government of Iran and they must believe in these three criteria which I previously described and present their requests to the command within the context of these criteria. For us, one of the important issues being raised is the technical one of democracy and centralism. In every organization democracy and centralism must advance shoulder to shoulder in parallel fashion. Generally, in the technical manner, a proper organization in modern organizational structuring takes pyramidal form; at the apex of the pyramid is the central power, and the people and personnel descend in pyramidal fashion until they reach the base.

"Centralism means the issuance of commands from above; when a command is issued from above, all people underneath must perform carry out the orders of the commander; democracy assumes the meaning that even at the base people are able to convey requests and views to the top (to the command).

The issue of centralism in the religion of Islam appears in the form of the nature of authority; in the army it takes the form of the command, and the issue of democracy manifests itself in the form of the councils.

"We are dealing with the issue of councils in accordance with this scientific law, considering here that the question of council is under no circumstances one of turmoil or sabotage but is, rather, a scientific and logical matter for the advancement of the common goals of all military people and the whole Iranian nation. Obedience to the commander and to superiors is also to be considered a necessary, obligatory matter, just as councils are."

#### The Unificationist System in the Army

Concerning the form in which the unificationist system will be applied in the army of the Islamic Republic, he said "Our philosophy of existence is based on the unity of God. We believe that one God created the creatures on earth and that there is powerful coordination among all the laws existing in the world, that there is one unity, that this unity and oneness manifests itself in the life of humans, human society and all our life as well, and that class differences are essentially the consequence of idolatry, a philosophy which we reject, as we believe in unity. Therefore, class differences and privileges must be eliminated. We hear that the type of food for commanders in the army is different from that for noncommissioned officers. There is a difference between commanders and officers in 'reliance' in obtaining hard and granulated sugar. We realize that when a sick person in the army goes to the military hospital, people ask him what class he belongs to in order to give him lesser or greater privileges. This discrimination is unacceptable and we are trying to create an army which will attain the form of unity. At the present time we know that attaining a unificationist system is not an easy job because it requires conditions and principles which our people and our army are not in a position to provide, just as implementing an Islamic regime is not 100 percent practical at the present time and a large amount of work will have to be done in the form of education, resources and conditions to reach this stage. Nor can one implement the unificationist system 100 percent from the standpoint of the army. Our objective is to attain a unificationist system, and since the unificationist system is our overall objective, we are trying at the present time--in the first stage of belief, faith, reliance on morality, proper education in the army and purification of the spirit--to prepare the ground for acceptance of the unificationist system, second, to establish councils and consultation between the various classes of officers and noncommissioned officers as soon as possible so that they may come closer to one another, and third, in regard to the preparation and codification of laws and review of the armed forces laws and decrees which have been set forth, we will try gradually to orient all these laws toward a unificationist system and we hope to proceed step by step toward the unificationist system in the proper manner."

### **Welfare Services**

Regarding future welfare services for military people, Dr Chamran said "We know that injustice has been done to a large number in the army and we will strive to have revolutionary decisions made in this area of welfare problems such as annual bonuses, housing, and medical and supply services. We will strive to have differences and discriminations which have resulted from various group classifications eliminated, to have officers and noncommissioned officers be equal before the law and be considered equal from the humanitarian standpoint, and have the discomforts which plagued a large number of pilots and noncommissioned officers totally eliminated. Our criterion of judgment in the army is not rank. Just as we do not want to consider a higher rank to be proof of virtue and superiority, we must not consider it to be proof of evil and corruption either. Our criterion is belief, faith and loyalty to the Islamic revolution of Iran and if sometimes a commander is discovered who is valuable in terms of these criteria, we will accept him; we have no fanaticisms."

The minister of national defense added, "At the conclusion of my statement I would like to make the point that we want an army which is popular, works for 35 million people and exists to serve the people in the holy war of construction and other activities which the army is pursuing, with all its resources. Secondly, it should protect the borders, defend the independence and territorial integrity of our country and in the case of attack by a foreign enemy stand against them with all its force and defend it to its last drop of blood. Third, the army must be the guardian of the Islamic revolution of Iran and neutralize all conspiracies which foreign agents are carrying out against our revolution inside the country. In a word, it must support and aid our nation in our movement toward perfection in this miraculous Islamic revolution."

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CSO: 4906

## READER CASTIGATES REBELLIOUS KURDS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 9 Oct 79 pp 1, 2

/Article by Ahmad Ali Baba'i: "Where Are the 'Supermen' of Kordestan?"

/Excerpt Mr Ali Baba'i submitted this article to the newspaper ETTELA'AT 3 days ago; in view of an orderly turnover of backlog, it was to have been published in tomorrow's paper on an ordinary basis. However, the bloody episode in Kordestan prompted the editorial board to present this article today as the paper's lead editorial. May the publication of this article persuade patriotic, realistic people to take constructive action in the heat of the shock resulting from this episode.

To the Board of Editors of ETTELA'AT Newspaper:

There is no room for doubt that the country's supervisory and executive system has committed mistakes in the issue of Kordestan, not only as a consequence of a lack of awareness of the problems of Kordestan. People who carried a little of the weight of the revolution on their shoulders in the days of the revolution and were far removed from opportunism, or the desire to gain status, have been upset at the thoughts which have been given to this vast country and its various problems!

We served in the house of our father Taleqani. During the last 2 months of disturbance of blood and fire we have been in contact with Kordestan every day; there was not a day when we were not in touch and conversation with Mr Moftizadeh and some other experts from Sanandaj, with the Sheikh or Seyyed Ezzoddin and Mr Safdar (the Shiite spiritual man representing the gentleman from Qom), and local officials in these and other areas of Kordestan. I remember that Ezzoddin gave an ear to Brig Gen Pezeshkpur, commander of the Mahabad brigade, and said:

"May I suggest to your excellence that your mind should be at rest concerning Mahabad and its outlying areas. There are no confrontations or

misunderstandings between the people and the army; we have succeeded in keeping the army totally removed from the problems; thanks be to God, no important incident has yet occurred," and so on and so forth.

God knows that I have not been storing up excessive glee in my hide. In acknowledging and praising Brg Gen Pezeshkpur, Ezzoddin said that he was managing the area well and that he should not be concerned about any confrontation between the army and the people or between the people and the army. What is interesting is that I have insisted, in brief, that all these conversations, or certain correspondences and reports, should have been previously recorded and kept and are now certainly in the gentleman's office, and I do not believe that this conversation to which I referred especially took place more than 2 or 3 days before the victory.

Please note that a rea like Kordestan, with a thousand problems, has brought the burdens of the revolution to this point and that we are now on the threshold of a change in regime. If the new administrators had had the slightest inclination on the area of Kordestan and the various problems there, we certainly would not have been afflicted with these calamities, this carnage and this fratricide today.

I went to Mahabad in the company of Foruhar's delegation at my own request (since I wanted to become acquainted with Kordestan and learn a little from it, as I am concerned about its future). Subsequently a telegram was sent from the late Taleqani to Ezzoddin, Safdari and Moftizadeh to the effect that so-and-so would be accompanying the delegation. Let us leave aside the fact that those who claim to head up and administer the country recognized nobody except themselves--3 or 4 days later, burning with a fever of 104 degrees, I came back from there, betook myself to the home of the minister of the interior at dawn and wrote down on a piece of notepaper:

1. No one, except for a single person or staff, should intervene in the Kordestan affairs.

2. You should immediately put a secure, permanent means of communication with the committee into operation.

3. You should at once put into operation an aid project or plan through a team of Plan Organization engineers and experts in the area; while the Kurds have not yet turned to violence, they will not do so if they obtain 100 tomans between one sunrise and the next.

4. Send no Shiite religious figures there.

5. If you wish, also hear descriptions and reports on the sensitive moments of turmoil and siege of the Mahabad Garrison under the aegis of a commission.

It is no concern of mine what happened to my immediate, temporary report. I know that a number of people whose sole role was to neutralize and invalidate the decisions, recommendations and reports of the capital's committees and delegates sat down in the capital. The craft of a person who has no craft is to find fault with the work of bold, decisive people. Although this committee was exceptionally weak and its information, intellectual capability and decisionmaking was limited, it ultimately did acquire information from this standpoint. So how did it happen that people quietly and gradually gave this committee the scope to become informed and aware of the problems of the area and it unquestionably functioned better in subsequent decisionmaking? It would be ungrateful for us to belittle the bravery, valor, poise and diligence of the honorable old man Esma'il Aradalan, a member of the committee, who went back and forth in the middle of the 24-hour crossfire between the town's garrison and the guest house, and the same goes with Poruhar, who did not rest for a moment. So how did it happen that they kept this activity up regardless of whether or not people were wondering what news there was of Kordestan? The government and the managers of the revolution were thinking about everything and every place except Kordestan, where fire has been on the verge of flaring up under the ashes at every moment. It is also very natural that when all powers are restricted to a small number of familiar, highly regarded faces they can only refrain from thinking seriously, acting thoroughly, cogitating soundly and systematically foreseeing events and actions.

After we set out from Mahabad, a car stopped in front of us between Naqadeh and Piranshahr, in the presence of Mr Sheykh Hoseyn Nuri and in the company of Capt Jajj Rasuli and a group of guards. A young man who was also wearing religious garb, on whose face a few hairs had started to sprout, and who had a very distraught, bitter expression was seen; he was the head of the committee or something like that. A number of officers and guards and some Kurds were escorting him. It was enough for a person to see this sight to begin shaking over the destiny this area was facing. In the presence of Mr Nuri, in the central mosque of Mahabad, the consultation and feelings we wanted to create in the name of the leaders of the revolution did not come about, although, I swear to God, both Izzoddin and the others had the respect of the delegation, the committee and the eman's emissary up to that moment. When we got to Mahabad in the evening, and were taken to a 'meeti', in the house of Mr Kharrazi, it was enough, in that very first stretch of time, for us to understand where we had arrived and what mental and practical aid the area needed. But wherfrom! Let us just try to pick fights with one another in the capital and Qom! Since this sarcastic exchange took place in Kurdistan, let it be; otherwise, the events and occurrences and terrible mistakes there will merit hours of conference and discussion.

11637  
CSO: 4906

NATIONAL FRONT GIVES VIEWS ON THEOCRACY

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 25 Oct 79 pp 1, 2

/Article: "On the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of Its Establishment, the National Front of Iran Publishes Its Views and Recommendations on Councils and Governance of Religious Jurists"/

/Text/ On the eve of the 30th anniversary of its establishment, the National Front of Iran is publishing its recommendations and opinions on the councils and the Council of Experts.

Regarding the councils, the National Front of Iran remarked that:

"The issue of forming councils, which is considered to be one of the foundations of democracy and national government and has become part of the people's fundamental demands following the triumph of the revolution, has met with a sorrowful state.

"Before the law establishing the councils, which contains the powers, limits on powers and nature of the councils' duties, was ratified without provision for the conditions necessary for the holding of free elections, procedures were taken to conduct elections in some towns of the country with the mere ratification of the bill on the council elections law. The government postponed the elections in Tehran and some important ostan capitals until later, and, in the course of its activities, suspended elections in a number of towns. It has now become known that the heads of the Islamic Republican Party could not perform the necessary surveillance over the elections because of their preoccupation with the Council of Experts and other important national affairs, and, as had been rumored, people in some areas were elected who were outside the organizations and outside their expectations; the Islamic Republican Party declared the elections to the city councils to be invalid and the government also voided elections in a number of towns.

"We must with utmost sorrow declare that action regarding the elections to the town councils, like other plans and projects, have been carried out

with a great uproar and insufficient investigation and study, and the result of such conduct will without a doubt be the spread of despair and pessimism and a state of indifference among many of the classes of society."

In referring to the plan for an immediate transfer of power which was presented on 17 February 1979, exactly 5 days after the fall of the Pahlavi regime and the triumph of the revolution, by the National Front, through the recommendation on the committees and local councils and, despite the government's inattentiveness to this recommendation, was published elsewhere in the draft proposed by Ayatollah Taleqani for local councils on 10 May 1979, the National Front of Iran then concluded that the government's recommendation is opposed to that of the National Front presented on 17 February 1979, and does not give attention to the draft which was drawn up by a group of learned men, accepted by His Eminence Ayatollah Taleqani and published on 10 May 1979, and is even contrary to statements by Eng Bazargan which were published on the same date. The formation of the councils is acceptable for the purpose of supervising progress but not for managing the running of local and regional affairs. Finally the National Front of Iran presented its plan for implanting sovereignty and forming councils as follows:

#### The National Front Plan for Implanting National Sovereignty and Forming Councils

"In the opinion of the National Front of Iran, the council system must constitute the foundation of the new structure of the country. This system must be established in such a way that it will inspire the people's practical involvement in various affairs so that the country's activities will be handed over to them. The formation of councils must not have a propagandistic aspect or embellish the country's laws and decrees as a phenomenon devoid of content.

"In the opinion of the National Front of Iran, the council system, in the event it is codified and implemented, can meet the needs of this period of our country's history with attention to the following objectives:

"1. The implanting of national sovereignty and the establishment of government of the people over the people is not feasible through the mere formation of a national consultative council and election of a government which is the object of society's confidence. The national consultative council and the national government can scrutinize only general matters and the important general affairs of society; in view of the diversity and complexity of the matters placed before them, they cannot in practice ascertain all the problems and inadequacies of various regions and areas and adopt appropriate decisions.

"Formation of local councils with the necessary powers will enable the people to take over the affairs bearing on their lives in a direct fashion and find and carry out relevant solutions in terms of regional conditions, requirements, traditions and customs.

"2. Since the people will be electing the persons fundamentally in charge in each area, they will performe put their work under surveillance, cooperate and share in efforts with them and be constantly informed and aware of all resources and capabilities as well as problems and difficulties. On the one hand, this will result in the improved progress of plans and projects and on the other hand it will avert the creation of contradictions and complications between the masses of the people and the government apparatus and in the course of time will create unity and solidarity between the nation and the governing body and increase the country's defensive ability.

"3. The participation by people of various areas in elections to the national consultative council and the selection of representatives to be sent to the country's capital once every 4 years cannot be considered comprehensive and sound without the formation of local councils, even in the event all conditions of freedom exist in the selections. The various classes of people who live in remote or even nearby areas cannot be informed of all the measures their representative in the council takes or know his personality and evaluate his activities completely. It is only through the formation of councils, the participation by the people in numerous elections, the election of local representatives, officials and responsible persons, and surveillance over their activities that full knowledge of persons in each area can be acquired through time and social personalities in large numbers can come into being throughout the country. At the time of national consultative council elections, during the appointment of governors and subdistrict heads, or in all other general elections, the people, with the awareness they have previously obtained concerning individuals in the area and previous familiarity with the manner of elections basic objections /line missing/ is relevant. The period of registration for candidates and the gap between the announcement of candidacy and commencement of elections have for the performance of election programs absolutely do not exist." The National Front then declared, in describing the atmosphere dominating society: "The National Front of Iran believes that the holding of any kind of election before the establishment of an appropriate environment and free climate in the country cannot be considered sound or free and cannot solve the problems of our society of today. Until provisions on the councils which respond in some way to the needs and expectations of society are prepared and ratified, and until the conditions of the country are ripe for free electoral activities, the holding of elections will yield no other results than increasing the instability of conditions.

"For the sake of free elections, the National Front supports total freedom of the press."

#### Codification of the Constitution

The National Front then referred to the system of studying the constitution within the Council of Experts and pointed out, "However, the council

which has engaged in the basic codification, whose real name has not been determined, unfortunately has not pursued these or other matters which might result in the establishment of national sovereignty. The government has officially given this council the name of the Council for the Final Investigation of the Constitution and has announced that this council will investigate the proposed draft in final form and carry out elections to the council for this purpose in light of the draft constitution and the recommendations which have been received. However, this council has not devoted practical attention to these declarations.

#### The National Front's Opinion Regarding the Governance of Jurists

"Here, we wish to devote attention to two basic points apart from religious justifications and reasons, and express our opinion clearly in this regard.

"First, if the goal in the governance of the jurists is to follow a lofty, devout and virtuous person who is accepted by society by virtue of his knowledge, piety, justice, bravery and leadership ability, this is undoubtedly acceptable and supported by every person concerned for his country and interested in the prosperity and progress of society.

"It has been repeatedly observed not only in Iranian society but in others as well that religious and even non-religious leaders who possess some of these characteristics have been able to lead people under extremely sensitive conditions and circumstances and impose great influence on the future of human societies. Mahatma Gandhi, who led the 500 million people of India against the powerful imperialist nation of that time and gained India's independence, was without contest a leader who acquired the status of leadership above all forms of laws and decrees. Dr Mohammed Mosaddeq, the great leader of the nation, is also to be considered a valuable example of the leadership of society. We in our own country have had many religious leaders who by a mere statement or writing put society in motion and destroyed many conspiracies.

"At the present time the influence of Imam Khomeyni's leadership on the revolutionary movement and the triumph of the revolution and the people's general support for him, which have been rare phenomena anywhere in the world, are not things which will ever be forgotten in the history of the world.

"However, this leadership and this following were not phenomena which resulted from legal decrees, came into being because of the organizations of lawgiving councils or were the result of ordinary action.

"In the event such eminence, governance or leadership is created as compulsory from the legal standpoint in any period, a spiritual and natural matter which is related to the characteristics and qualities of an exalted

person and manager who is pious, scholarly and accepted by the general public or majority of the people will take the form of a national organization possessing legal compulsion and will in reality lose its lofty moral status and be transformed into a governmental arrangement."

The National Front of Iran then presented its recommendations on the restoration of revolutionary unity: "This draft, which was published on the occasion of the anniversary of 21 July, was published in BAMDAD in its original form on the same date."

In another portion of its pamphlet, the National Front published Ayatollah Taleqani's proposed draft on local councils as follows:

#### Ayatollah Taleqani's Proposed Draft

Article 1. Pursuant to the principle of councils and in order to guarantee the participation of people from all areas in the administration of public affairs, to observe the historic, geographical and religious requirements of the country's cities and ostans, and to adopt measures to preserve and spread national culture, language and customs, village, subdistrict, town, shahrestan and ostan councils will be formed throughout the country in accordance with the geographic and political subdivisions determined by law.

Article 2. Local councils will be elected for a period of 2 years as follows, and there will be no prohibition against the re-election of the members of these councils:

1. The council of each village will be directly elected by the inhabitants and will have five members.
2. The council of each subdistrict will consist of the elected representatives of the village councils situated in the area of that subdistrict, and each council will have a representative in the council.
3. The town council will be elected directly by persons who live in that town. The minimum number of council members will be seven; one representative per every 100,000 persons will be added for towns which have a population greater than 200,000, but in no case will the number of representatives exceed 20.
4. The shahrestan council will be composed of the elected representatives of the town council and the subdistrict councils in that area by having the council of each subdistrict elect one of its members to take part in the shahrestan council; the town council will select one town council member for every 100,000 inhabitants of the town. However, the number of elected town council members must in no case be greater than seven.

**Article 3.** Elections will be held without concern for religious, ethnic or linguistic particulars and every resident in the area will have the right to take part in them. A person who has resided in an area for at least 6 months prior to the beginning of the elections will be considered a resident of that area.

**Article 4.** The minimum age of voters will be 18 full years and council members must not be less than 25 years of age.

**Article 5.** The village council will elect the head man and will also aid the head man in performing his duties, in its capacity of advisor and overseer. Removal of the head man will also be at the discretion of the village council.

**Article 6.** The subdistrict council will present three candidates for lieutenant governor to the governor. The governor will appoint one of these to the post of lieutenant governor and present him to the Ministry of the Interior. The subdistrict council will have the right to promulgate the necessary regulations for the protection and development of farms, orchards, pastures, public places and rural branch roads and the equitable manner for apportioning water in the public domain within the limits of laws and shahrestan council decisions, and will oversee the activities of the village councils.

**Note:** The removal of a lieutenant governor will take place by recommendation of the subdistrict council and ratification of the governor.

**Article 7.** The mayor of any area will be elected through the town council. The shahrestan council will propose three candidates for the governorship from inside or outside the council and the Ministry of the Interior will appoint one of these candidates to the position of governor. The governor general will be appointed by recommendation of the ostan council and approval of the Ministry of the Interior.

**Article 8.** Changes of mayor will be contingent on decisions by the town council, and removal of the governor and governor general will also take place by recommendation of the shahrestan and ostan councils and approval of the Ministry of the Interior, except when the governor or governor general is removed in necessary and unusual cases in accordance with the national interest by recommendation of the minister of the interior and approval of the Council of Ministers.

**Article 9.** Surveillance of the activities of the mayor and local societies and apportionment of work between them will be the responsibility of the town council. The council will have the right to promulgate regulations concerning all matters related to the municipality within the limits of the laws and the decisions of the shahrestan council.

Article 10. The shahrestan council has the right to promulgate regulations regarding the following matters in addition to conducting surveillance over the activity of the subdistrict councils in its area:

1. Cultural affairs, such as the use of historic and religious buildings and preservation and dissemination of national and local culture and the national language and customs.
2. Educational affairs, such as the extent and quality of local language teaching, the method of religious instruction and the teaching of national arts and industries in primary and secondary schools and the establishment of educational institutions within the limits of the nation's general educational policy and the shahrestan's budget.
3. Public health and medical affairs, such as public health regulations related to public places, food merchants and restaurants, the establishment and administration of hospitals, and surveillance over the work of doctors and pharmacists.
4. Labor, industry and agriculture, within the limits of the country's development policies and labor laws and regulations.
5. Promulgation of local duties in the context of towns, rural areas, and roads and expressways within towns.
6. Promulgation of penal regulations to guarantee the decisions approved by the council, determination of punishment for violations related to driving, and campaigns against profiteering.

Article 11. In addition to overseeing the activities of councils throughout the ostan and establishing coordination among them, the ostan council will have the right to promulgate regulations concerning general principles governing the administration of the councils and determining common rules in all fields subject to shahrestan council authority throughout the ostan.

Article 12. Subdistrict and town council regulations must not conflict with the general regulations of the shahrestan council nor will shahrestan council regulations conflict with the principles and rules of the ostan council. The highest court in the area can make decisions regarding conflicts in regulations, and, if necessary, void regulations which have been promulgated in conflict with the provisions of a higher council.

Article 13. Promulgation of rules related to general government policy concerning the powers of the councils and the principles which must be observed to preserve national integrity, public order and national interests by the local councils will be the prerogative of the national consultative council, and the council regulations will be valid in the event they do not conflict with these laws.

Article 14. Governors general, governors and lieutenant governors elected by local councils will be considered employees of the Ministry of the Interior during their period of tenure and will be subject to special government statutes. Following the conclusion of the councils' tenure and the establishment of new councils, their positions will be eliminated.

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UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TAKE OVER SOME HOTELS IN TEHRAN

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 25 Oct 79 pp 1, 3

/Article: "University Students Take over Some Hotels in Tehran"/

/Text/ After the takeover of the Tehran International Hotel office by Science and Industry University Students during the past 2 days, three other big hotels in Tehran were occupied by students of the National Universities of Iran, the Revolutionary Educational League and the Higher Computer School. In discussions with BAMDAD on the reasons for this action, the students in these higher centers announced that the first concern was to eliminate capitalists and the second was to possess a complimentary dormitory.

In this regard, the representative of the Science and Industry University students told BAMDAD "In the course of some months of discussion with university and other officials on the fact that a dormitory should be provided for the students, we finally reached the conclusion that the officials' goal was to promise threats and that the continuation of these talks would have no result other than to distress the students." He added, "Up to a few days ago the municipality was to place a building at our disposal for this purpose in Seyyed-e Khandan, but unfortunately this organization declared that it would place these buildings at the disposal of groups of squatters. This caused the students to take a decisive decision from two standpoints." He pointed out, "At the beginning, the goal of the science and industry students was to deprive the capitalists who have links with American imperialists of their capital. Of course the effort also was to coordinate this action with the government's views in some manner so that a legal route could also be followed." In connection with this, he pointed out "The Industrial University has about 7,000 students and about 60 percent of them are from the provinces; all the money they receive as aid for educational and housing expenses is around 650 tomans. One cannot even rent a room 3 by 4 meters with this money." He pointed out, "Students of the University of Science and Industry became concerned in connection with the abovementioned points when they failed to obtain satisfaction through officials. Realizing the status of the International Hotel, they went to the hotel and took over about 600 rooms in the hotel and settled

themselves in them without any confrontation or opposition from hotel employees or persons in charge of the matter." The students' representative pointed out that 1,500 students from the University of Science and Industry, 300 of the nation's athletes and 120 students from the Higher Communications School have taken up residence in this hotel right now.

Asked whether they were making use of the services offered by hotel officials, he said "Basically the students are doing their jobs by themselves, the hotel employees are also being handled with mutual respect and absolutely no problems are being raised for them."

In consideration he added "The university students still need dormitories, and we will help other universities with the aid of other students until we find other places where they can sleep."

He pointed out, "All dormitories we will select for the students will be related to the issue of severing the capitalists from the nation's economy; it is for this that our nation rose up." According to a report by BAMDAD reporters, while this hotel has now been operated in a very organized fashion for 4 days by the students, the Royal Garden Hotel, which is located on Ayatollah Taleqani (Takht-e Jamshid) Avenue and was also allocated as a dormitory yesterday morning by National Iranian University students, was evacuated by hotel employees and guards yesterday afternoon.

The representative of this group of students, who numbered more than 1,000, told BAMDAD "This April we talked with government officials and university employees, through correspondence and negotiation, about procuring dormitories; after a while they placed one building at the other end of Za'faranieh, which has about 85 rooms, at the disposal of the university as a dormitory. Not only did this site not respond to the students' needs for a place to sleep, it was also very far from town and the university and therefore since we realized that the correspondence and the negotiations were not progressing, we decided at 0900 hours yesterday morning, (Saturday) to get going and take over and settle in the Royal Garden Hotel, which we had previously earmarked." He pointed out, "For this reason we also brought both the committee of the area and some responsible officials into events." He stressed, "We moved with calm and order, reached the hotel and, to preserve order and to keep the people staying in the hotel from being uncomfortable, sat down in the hotel without fuss. When the morning prayer was held some guards came and said 'We have orders to get you to evacuate the hotel,' but since we did not listen to what they said some of our representatives went to the Office of the Prime Minister. The result of this discussion and meeting was also a promise for some vague future." This student added "Since the owner of the hotel is also a very influential man, he put pressure on the hotel employees and workers and, being mobilized as the students were awaiting the results of the talks this afternoon, they got the students to rush out of the hotel by breaking some windows and creating panic. At this point the officials also helped them so that they would be successful in carrying out their plan." In conclusion, this

student said "In evacuating this hotel, the students created absolutely no resistance. Their efforts were centered on having no outbursts break out, and they left the hotel peacefully. About 10 students sustained a few injuries in this evacuation; they went to hospitals around the hotel and were released after first aid treatments."

In his report, BAMDAD's correspondent writes that at about 1700 hours in the afternoon 1,000 students once again opened the door into the hotel and entered the hotel with the slogan "Dormitories, dormitories are our absolute right."

According to the report by BAMDAD's correspondent, a group of Computer Sciences Faculty students also occupied the Sina Hotel, which is located alongside the Royal Garden Hotel, and settled down inside it. For this reason the students of the National University became aggravated over the problem of having to admit that there was a difference between the two groups of students.

Another BAMDAD reporter engaged in a conversation in the Hotel Waldorf with the representative of the Revolution Higher Technology Complex students who had gathered yesterday at dawn in the foyer of the hotel. In this interview, he pointed out, "For a long time there were arrangements for villa-sized houses for us; we announced that we could not live in such houses. The Housing Foundation placed a three-storey house at the disposal of three groups; not only did the house not have room for them, no understanding existed among the groups presented either." One student, asked why they had chosen the hotel for this purpose, said "One, because it is a complex and another, because the hotel is inside the city. Moreover, its owners are in contact with the capitalists who are devastating the world and with Zionists." This student pointed out, "The hotel officials are trying to drive a wedge between us and the workers and make us confront one another, but the aware workers in this hotel cooperated with us at a time when the hotel managers did not even give us permission to make phone calls from the hotel."

The representative of the students settled in the Waldorf Hotel mentioned, "Many times throughout the day we announced that if those in charge of the matter did not enter into discussions with us by 1700 hours in the evening, we would occupy the rooms."

According to the report by BAMDAD's correspondents, the guests who were staying in these hotels immediately evacuated them, during their occupation. There were 40 guests in the Waldorf Hotel, which was occupied by students without dormitories this morning, and they left the hotel.

According to a report by BAMDAD correspondents, the officials in these hotels were not willing to talk to newsmen. According to the latest report obtained from the Hotel Waldorf, the students have taken over the bottom eight floors of the hotel, have provided rooms for girl students

by opening up some rooms, and are in the hotel corridors themselves. In the Royal Garden Hotel, about 500 students entered the mezzanine chambers of the hotel from the hotel gardens and took up lodgings there.

Abolfazi Shahshani, the Tehran public prosecutor, also declared, in a statement with BAMDAD yesterday on the takeover of the Tehran hotels,

"Reports concerning this matter have reached the Office of the Public Prosecutor. Some other buildings belonging to individuals have also been taken over, in addition to the abovementioned hotels, and since this action is trespassing, from the legal standpoint, it is therefore punishable and orders have been given for the evacuation of these locations. The matter will be settled in the course of the next day or two."

The day before yesterday evening PARS News Agency reported from Kermanshah that the director general of housing and urban development in the Ostan of Kermanshahan told PARS News Agency's reporter that work on the Kermanshah Foster Family Building alongside the town's boarding school for the care of children without guardians has been completed, and that it was occupied by students before children without guardians could be transferred to it. Mohammad Sepehripur, the governor general of Kermanshahan, stated in this regard "The young people will be absolutely unwilling to have a place belonging to orphan children without guardians occupied by them."

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CSO: 4906

IRAN

NEW GROUPS DENIED EXIT FROM IRAN

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 13 Aug 79 p 1

[Text] The list of persons denied exit from Iran is being revised and will incorporate an additional group.

The office of the Deputy Prime Minister for Revolutionary Affairs has requested all Iranian banks to provide the names of their board directors, managing directors, and managers between 1350 [21 March 1971-20 March 1972] and Bahman 1357 [21 January-19 February 1979].

Such bank officials represent the new group to be denied exit abroad pending clearance by revolutionary courts.

In early Esfand [20 February-20 March], during the reopening of Iran's air and surface borders after the Revolution, the Prime Minister had ordered all Ministries and state organizations to furnish him with the names of Ministers, Assistant-Secretaries, General Managers, and other officials up to the level of Managing Directors and General Managers so that their background might be investigated and that they be denied exit abroad pending clearance by revolutionary courts. In view of the revolutionary climate, that list was compiled hurriedly and revolutionary authorities pointed out that it might be inaccurate.

ETTELA'AT's political correspondent reports that in view of the above shortcomings, the office of the Prime Minister will reexamine that list.

The list involved contains a group of persons who, because of criminal (non-political) convictions during the former regime, are prohibited from leaving Iran pending clearance through public trials. It also contains another group of persons who have been added by the revolutionary government and courts.

Mr Abbas Amir Entezam, the current government spokesman, had earlier announced that those denied exit might find out about their status by contacting appropriate officials at the airport. Mr Entezam had also stated that the list in question would never be officially published.

ETTELA'AT's political correspondent points out that the total number of those denied exit pending clearance through public trials ranges between 6,000 and 10,000. Of that number 750 consist of parliament deputies; 1,200 consist of ministers, assistant-secretaries, general managers; and 600 consist of state agency officials and acting directors.

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CSO: 4906

EXPERTS DISCUSS SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 Sep 79 p 3

Text Engineer Mehdi Bazargan, Prime Minister of the provisional government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, said at the opening of the seminar on economics, "Now, we are living in a strange era, in a revolutionary era which, without doubt, is unprecedented in our history and which has been welcomed and applauded by all of the African and Asian countries in the world and, to some extent by America and Europe. Moreover, it becomes clearer to us every day that this revolution is deeper and broader than we had imagined.

"When I say 'us,' I mean the people, the government, and even the leader of the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini. At first, it appeared to everyone that the revolution's program was to overthrow the satanic and despotic imperial regime, and it was thought that, with the overthrow of that regime, the old saying, 'When the devil leaves, the angel arrives,' would apply and everything would be rectified because, at that time, it was thought that that regime was the source of all misfortunes, hardships and difficulties and that, with its departure, freedom, democracy and justice would arrive in its place. Likewise, at first, the government's plan was a constitution minus the element of the monarchy, i.e., once the power of oppression and its aides and cohorts in the country had been curtailed, the situation would proceed along its normal course. This is the kind of thinking that dominated the thoughts of everyone after the victory of the revolution.

"In practice, however, we saw that conditions and developments did not allow this sleepy and rusty apparatus, this anesthetized patient, to function. On the one hand, counter-revolutionary elements began their trouble-making from the very beginning. On the other hand, we encountered problems in getting the wheels to turn. We thought that we would just start-up the government machinery; the banks would begin to operate, the bazaars would open for business, and, in general, the wheels of the country's economy would begin to turn. In practice, however, we saw that a revolution was taking place within these institutions, too. The workers would not accept the type of administration in the factories, and the people were applying pressure to have the banks nationalized and the departments purged. Consequently, we saw that it was necessary to bring about substantive change.

"Everything must be uprooted and overturned. Ownership must change; tenancy must change; and the management of the workshops and even the clerics must change.

In another portion of his speech, Engineer Bazargan said, "The provisional government is in the position where everything is being demanded of it and it must be the solution to all problems; meanwhile, it has been deprived of all resources and does not have any power. We are, as the saying goes, 'like a knife without a blade,' but we are being asked to be decisive.

"It is necessary to keep in mind that the private sector is very important to the country's economy and one must give it attention when considering the country's economic system."

In conclusion, the Prime Minister thanked the participants and sponsors of this seminar and expressed the hope that, in the mind of God, this seminar would be successful.

#### Principle of Ownership

Then, 'Ali Mohammed Izadi, the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, said, "Some positive steps were taken following the revolution, but what we have been hearing since the revolution are slogans about a unified economy and a unified society, without these slogans ever having been explained."

Izadi then addressed the problem of ownership and said, "First of all, it was necessary to see whether or not Iran's revolution was an Islamic revolution. In discussing ownership, the basic regulations must be Islamic regulations. In Islam, legitimate and conditional ownership is respected. Ownership in Islam is not irresponsible and achieving ownership is not permitted by other than lawful means; in other words, it is necessary to state that ownership in Islam is not restricted, but it does entail conditions."

Izadi added, "All of those who are active in the economic sector, first of all, want to know whether or not their activities will be guaranteed. If the security of order and discipline is not present in production and industrial units, or any other area of economic affairs, how can a healthy flow of production continue? In my opinion, the government must play a guiding role in such affairs and be the efficient overseer and supervisor in implementing economic programs."

Hassan Nazih, Chairman of the Board of Directors and managing director of the National Iranian Oil Company, said, "Before determining the basic economic strategy, power must be centralized within the government. Planning, decision-making, and enforcement must be concentrated within the government. Order and discipline must be established in all affairs and in all things. We are encouraging sound industrial and commercial experts and competent employers in industry, trade, and construction so that they can cooperate shoulder to shoulder with the government in reviving industry and trade, until the time when a suitable economic regime has been created and established for the

country by a legitimate National Consultative Assembly composed of representatives of all classes. The goal of the revolution was not, and is not, unplanned and aimless destruction and disruption. We must create public hope and confidence in the future, in fact, and by strengthening the government and by establishing order and certainty.

"The display being made by some people of adherence to Islamic ideas in governmental organizations which, in most instances, unfortunately, is not based on true conviction and faith, is disrupting the work of the government and is not solving anything. Each person must heed the limit and boundary of his competence, knowledge, and expertise in public affairs and problems. The clergy and a simple laborer should not think that they can be authorities in all affairs and in all problems; otherwise, interference in power and responsibilities will continue and planning will not be fruitful. The death of Taleqani and the sadness of the whole nation showed that the judgement of public opinion is never wrong. One should not forget this point."

#### Plunder of the Oil Income

Abuolhassan Bani Sadr, first of all, said that the real cause of the revolution and its victory was the fact that the former regime had reached a complete impasse both from the political standpoint and from the economic, social, ideological, and cultural standpoint. The economic impasse of past governments was caused by the fact that their training apparatuses were expanded quantitatively and they churned out as many graduates as they could. When these graduates were drawn to administrative jobs, all of the oil income had to be used for administrative expenses, without giving any attention to production programs. In this discussion, we must make clear that we may or may not continue the present ties that pertain to past policies. We must leave room for the private sector in the economic system; we must determine the policy of consumption and production; but, the shape and composition of the budget shows that we are not able to solve the problems and determine the economic system. We have a budget deficit. An important portion of the budget is being used for administrative costs, and we are depending on oil income alone. We must generate production along with employment. We must not continue the present situation until the oil wells run dry."

Bani Sadr added, "Contrary to what was stated here concerning the fact that we do not have much of an economic problem, we do have enormous problems. If the present economic policy continues, certainly good results will not ensue. It is necessary to see what our economy is at the present time and where it is going. Ownership is a minor problem. The main point in the economic system is who is making the decisions--the government or someone else--and toward what goal are the decisions being made. In Islam, ownership is not limited either quantitatively nor qualitatively; rather, it is the result of labor. For example, you do not grant the right of ownership for our work; then you want to determine ownership for an object. This is a fraud."

## One Must Think of the People's Peace of Mind

Mohammed 'Ali Molavi, President of the Central Bank of Iran, said, "On 16 Khordad 1358 [6 June 1979], we prepared and gave to the government a program so that a special economic system, consonant with the situation of the revolution, might be instituted in the country."

In another part of his speech, he said, "Social Welfare must be proportionate to our oil income, i.e., first of all, everyone's attention should be on work, because the essence of the economy is work. If the people do not return to work, not only will we not be victorious; rather, we will be defeated. We must have a comprehensive economic program that is consonant with the country's independence and the situation of its natural resources. Escape from any relationship is impossible as long as foreign technology is needed.

"We should have made progress in industries and shown that we can produce the raw materials for the industries within the country. Had attention been given to this matter, we would not have all these ties and this backwardness that we see today.

"In the economic system, the government must guide the industries. The government should not invest in those fields in which the private sector can invest.

"Planning must be total and national, i.e., it must consider questions in such a way that our ties will be reduced day by day. Another problem is coordination, and such an important problem still has not been given consideration. In the past, it was because of lack of coordination in the field of agriculture and industry that we became a consumer. Right now, we should be thinking of a short-term program for economic movement instead of a long-term program. The long-term program should be planned and followed up in the course of time."

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ECONOMIC PROBLEMS TO BE DISCUSSED AT SEMINAR

Tehran AYANDEGAN in Persian 31 Jul 79 pp 1,2

[Text] Upon the invitation of the Central Bank, next week an economic seminar will be held with the participation of the economic officials of the country.

In an interview with the press, Dr Mohammad Ali Molavi, director general of Iran's Central Bank pointed out: "I will resign if the seminar does not reach favorable results and its resolution is not acceptable."

In the beginning of the interview, Molavi pointed out: "The list of names which was published during the revolution--those who had transferred money abroad--was not a true list. It had been forged. Now, who published such a phoney list, I do not know. Now, either it was a phoney list or not, and whether someone had given the list or not, it is the responsibility of the Central Bank to prepare a correct list. For this reason, since we have come here, we have started to prepare an alphabetical list of those who have transferred money abroad in the last 5 or 6 months. However, we can only announce the names when we become certain of its accuracy, because most of the names are similar to one another and it is difficult to distinguish them. Another problem is that a great portion of the foreign exchange which had been transferred abroad belonged to Bank-e Sepah and Bank-e Melli and it is said that the documents were destroyed in fire."

About 30 rials which is received as a deposit for every dollar from the passengers [going abroad], Molavi said "People are upset and they have the right to be. At the time the decision was made, Mr Ardalan and I were among the minority. We did not want to impose the 3 tomans of deposit on the people."

The director general of Central Bank added: "Yesterday we found out that most of the educational certificates issued in San Francisco are bogus and that there is a center which issues those certificates and forges the embassy and college seals.

"On the other hand, here by paying 100 to 150 tomans you can get a medical certificate stating that you require treatment abroad. With this certificate, you get at least \$10,000 of foreign exchange. The next day the foreign

exchange is sold in the market. Despite all these abuses, there is criticism over 30 rials being received as deposit."

He added: "It was supposed to cover the costs of giving checks and money orders to the passengers together with their passports in the airport, but no one accepted the responsibility."

In response to a question as to whether these problems were caused because of having several decisionmaking sources, or whether, with its independence, the Central Bank could make such decisions by itself, he replied: "At present we make decisions independently as much as possible. Of course, our decisions are in conformance with the government's policy. But, for example, a few days ago it was announced by the minister of housing that construction (housing) banks have been combined and that interest should no longer be received.

"On the one hand, it is said that the interest is eliminated and, on the other hand, we have to bargain with Bank-e Melli to reduce housing loans by a half percent.

"For this reason, the ministers of economy, industry and trade and the head of The Plan and Budget Organization, the authorities of the Chamber of Commerce, owners of industry and all directors general of banks have been invited to attend a seminar next week. If the decisions on the country's economy are not coordinated or if I do not accept the resolution of this seminar, I will resign."

Regarding a brain drain, Molavi said: "We should make fundamental decisions, putting feelings aside, and a capable person should be used and they should not let the educated leave the country. At present the important issue for us is not the escape of capital but of the educated. Most university personnel/teachers have taken long-term leaves and it is not known if they will return."

At the end of this interview, regarding the total amount of foreign exchange that the banks sell, Molavi said: "Each year 600,000 persons leave the country to travel abroad. If each of them receives an average of \$3,000, the banks would be paying a total of \$1.8 billion and in addition \$2.2 billion in foreign exchange is also paid to students, the retired, and for medical treatment expenses, bringing the total up to \$4 billion.

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CSO: 4906

TRAIN STOPPAGE BY AZARBAIJANI TRIBES EXPLAINED

Tehran AYANDEGAN in Persian 31 Jul 79 p 1

[Text] Tabriz--AYANDEGAN correspondent--The Tabriz-Qatur railway which had been closed for the last couple of days was opened and the first train passed through Qatur railway station without any incident.

Engineer Shamlu, district manager of Azarbaijan railway, told AYANDEGAN: "Following negotiations held by the delegation dispatched by the provincial governor of East Azarbaijan and reaching agreement, the first train from Tabriz went to Qatur after several days. The representative of the tribes was seen on the train.

About the Qatur event, Shamlu said: "Holding hostages did not have the definition of war. Because the Kurds had been in Khoy, they had announced that the employees were not allowed to leave the station in Qatur and that no train should go to that station." He added: "The employees of the railway were not arrested. Because the roads were closed and only dirt roads were at the disposal of the tribes, the employees were faced with shortages of food and lack of hygiene.

He pointed out: "At present the railroad is at our disposal and employees have started to work from today (yesterday). Today and tomorrow "the train" will come to Qatur from Tabriz.

According to our correspondent, the Tehran-Tabriz train which had been stopped with 500 passengers in Atashbayk and Hashtrud area went to Tabriz after the rails were cleared. All passengers reached their destination safely.

Shamlu, the director general of East Azarbaijan railway, who put the information at the disposal of AYANDEGAN, added: "The stoppage of the train in the Atashbayk area was due to technical problems with one of the cargo trains and this caused the closing of the Tehran-Tabriz railway.

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CSO: 4906

## FATALITIES REPORTED AFTER CLASH IN BANDAR ANZALI

Tehran RAMDAD in Persian 18 Oct 79 pp 1, 2

/Article: "Owing to a Refusal To Face Problems and Facts, Which Resulted in the Latest Episodes, Bandar Anzali Governor Accuses Agriculture Minister, Fisheries Director of Perpetrating Crimes"/

/Text/ The town of Bandar Anzali, which was transformed into a scene of intense struggle between revolutionary guards and various groups of people, in the course of the past 2 days, was quiet yesterday and is being strictly patrolled by police and Islamic Republic gendarme officials.

All shops, schools and government offices in this town were closed down yesterday. Tens of thousands of people participated yesterday morning and evening in burial rites for some of the people killed in the Bandar Anzali occurrences. At the present time, vehicular traffic in the town is moving sluggishly. Habib Davaran, the governor general of Gilan, declared yesterday afternoon in an interview with RAMDAD that the casualties were 14 killed and 47 wounded.

Yesterday Hoseynjani, the governor of Bandar Anzali, also accused the minister of agriculture and the managing director of the fisheries of perpetrating crimes in a cable he sent to the General Revolutionary Public Prosecutor of Iran. This cable--copies of which were also sent to the office of the emam, the office of the prime minister and the governor general's office- stated "I, as governor of Bandar Anzali, hereby accuse the managing director of Iranian Fisheries and the minister of agriculture of perpetrating a crime, because I conveyed all occurrences accurately to all official personages in the course of organizing a seminar to investigate the problems of fishermen in Bandar Anzali and to the Fisheries Commission and the Governorate General of Gilan and in meetings with the minister of agriculture and the managing director of the fisheries in Tehran, but the managing director of the fisheries did not pay attention to these problems and facts. He only proclaimed ratified decrees and circular letters without paying attention to the sensitivities of the region and the importance of the problem. The minister of agriculture also supported the managing director of the fisheries before me, in a manner remote from

existing realities, in the presence of representatives of independent fishermen, and was not even prepared to listen fully to what we said or to consider the matter a serious one. In any event the tactlessness and the unrevolutionary, inhuman action of fishery officials in making the facts appear the opposite of what they really were caused the recent events in Bandar Anzali to erupt and the blood of many people to flow." In conclusion, the cable stated "I implore you to look into this matter as soon as possible and I am prepared to present a testimony and statement on the episode."

Yesterday Adm Madani, commander of the navy, also entered the Ostan of Gilan to investigate the recent events in Bandar Anzali and proceeded to examine the reasons for the recent events in Anzali in the presence of the governor general of Gilan and military and national figures. Before the session, Adm Madani took part in a radio and press conference and stated, "At the first moment the town's security forces were in charge of responsible authorities, including the security and military forces and judiciary officers; the army of course supports the nation everywhere, exists for the sake of protecting the nation and preserving peace, and is at the disposal of the people here, in addition to the assistance from the naval forces." He said, "Of course the Ostan Security Council decided in its previous sessions and today that there should be no guards in Bandar Anzali, since it is likely that an explosion will occur." He added, "The security forces will carry out the duties they have and the naval forces will also perform their duties. I think, God willing, that the expected order will come into being, that there will be no further room for anxiety and, through the awareness of responsible officials, the problems will be eliminated."

Regarding the latest conflagrations in Bandar Anzali, he said "Not everything can be dealt with under the title of counterrevolution. Many times a conflagration occurs when a situation is confronted crudely or when confrontations are not permissible and one must seek a cure. Many issues and problems are so small that they may easily be solved but then unfortunately people who have no responsibility get involved and interfere and the resolution of a job which was difficult for those who had the responsibility becomes much harder. I personally believe that if the responsible officials themselves had solved this problem intelligently and those who had no responsibility had not interfered yesterday and the day before, we would not have had so many killed or so many people wounded and the eruptions would easily have ended in a very smooth manner. However, again, everywhere we prevent losses is a gain. In any case one must engage in confrontations in the context of order and deal with trespassers strictly. We must also be aware that these people belong to another category and they want their problems to be eliminated. Do not address them as counterrevolutionaries. We must seek remedies for problems of people of this sort in a very delicate manner and then we will observe that the problems are being eliminated smoothly. Of course there are a limited number of people throughout Iran

who are lying in wait, muddying the waters and fishing, and as soon as they enter the arena they must be categorically recognized, because they are the keystone of those who are committing the wrongful acts."

Hashem Sabbaghian, minister of the interior, announced in an interview yesterday that the Guards of the Islamic Revolution have completely deserted Bandar Anzali as a consequence of agreements. Bandar Anzali was calm today but the holding of funerals was accompanied by demonstrating and all the shops in this town were closed.

In describing the events of the past few days in Bandar Anzali, the minister of the interior said, "Essentially the matter took the form of a clash between the fishermen and the fisheries at the outset. On the day of the episode, the governor general of Gilan went to Bandar Anzali to announce that the fishermen were free to fish; unfortunately, the blowup occurred before his arrival. Because of the large number of protestors, the fishery guards requested help from the Army of Guards of the Revolution and three people were killed in the course of shooting." He added "Following this episode, a renewed outburst occurred in the holding of the funeral for one of these three people; according to the reports which have been received, leftist forces had a hand in creating that." The minister of the interior added that the continued presence of members of the Army of Guards in Bandar Anzali caused provoked people and resulted in a renewed clash, and as a consequence an attack was made on the site of the Army of Guards.

Hashem Sabbaghian stated, "In the wake of the departure of the Army of Guards from Bandar Anzali, security arrangements for the town were assigned to the police and, in case of need, the naval force." The minister of the interior declared that 11 people were killed in the latest episodes in Bandar Anzali and that about 40 were wounded. He asserted that a committee will be sent to this area by the Ministry of Interior to investigate the Bandar Anzali events in the early part of next week.

Regarding the news of Tuesday 15 Oct 1979 Lt Comm Khalil Ahmadi, commander of the Naval Cruiser Training Center, cited two fatalities and 12 casualties in the context of the demonstrations in Bandar Arzal. On page three of the newspaper it was stated that the navy's cruisers and security forces undertook extensive operations to remove the Army of the Guards from the circle of the blockade and placed a statement at RAMDAD's disposal in Rasht stating that notice was being given that the Navy's cruisers had no mission to interfere in carrying out these operations and that no orders to this end had been given to the cruisers.

The disturbed atmosphere of the town, following the latest events, has been dissipated but all shops, offices and schools were closed down yesterday. Yesterday a group of close to 1,000 persons carried the bodies of the dead quietly to the town cemetery at dawn and buried them in the course of ceremonies. At the same time yesterday Adm Madani, commander of the

navy, went to Bandar Anzali and headed directly for the naval base. In another area, 200 guards established themselves near Khomam, 20 kilometers from Anzali, and refrained from going into the town. Severe wind and rain yesterday added to the total calm of Bandar Anzali to some extent. Meanwhile an atmosphere of wariness and uncertainty about the future is to be observed among the people, and the reaction of the government and the executive agencies in solving the problems of Bandar Anzali will be the sole determining factor.

Yesterday an announcement was issued by the friends and family of the deceased Nader Safa'i, who was killed in the recent outburst in Bandar Anzali.

In this announcement, signed by the Islamic Students' Association, the Moslem Workers' and Students' Club of Gilan University, the Holy War on Construction of Gilan Ostan, and the Army of the Guards of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Rasht Headquarters, detailed matters concerning martyrdom for the sake of Islam were written.

In the conclusion, this announcement stated that the funeral ceremonies for the martyred brother guard Nader Safa'i would begin at 1000 hours this morning at the Halifezhad High School in Rasht, on the Eraq Bridge.

The Office of the General Public Prosecutor of the Revolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, issuing a proclamation addressed to the revolutionary public prosecutor of Bandar Anzali, did not accept the latter's resignation and requested that he perform his humanitarian and legal duties as before.

The text of the proclamation is as follows:

"In the name of the almighty:

"Mr Farazpur, Islamic revolutionary public prosecutor of Bandar Anzali:

In light of your valuable, unflagging services in the period of service, agreement is hereby not given to your resignation dated 16 October 1979. I therefore hope for your success in continuing your humanitarian and legal duties in a good, decisive manner.

"/Signed/ General Public Prosecutor of the Revolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Qoddusi."

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## NEW LAND REFORM PLAN DISCUSSED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 13 Aug 79 p 10

[Text] After the announcement of a new land reform plan which, according to Mr Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, member of the Economic Council of the Islamic Revolution, was published in ETTELA'AT, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development wrote ETTELA'AT as follows:

"The comprehensive plan which was devised by the Iranian Islamic Republic in accordance with Islamic principles and standards concerning farming methods and systems of land cession and land reclamation and which was submitted to the Cabinet, does not represent a new land reform plan.

In its issues dated 10 Mordad 1358 [1 August 1979] and 15 Mordad 1358 [6 August 1979] under the title 'New Land Reform Plan,' ETTELA'AT published articles which have created suspicions and illusions and have prompted people to flood our Ministry with letters requesting details and clarifications. The printing of such material is particularly regrettable in view of the unfavorable impression of this concept evoked both among petty landlords and members of agricultural councils.

It must be stressed that the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development has not worked out any new land reform and naturally has not submitted one to any forum, such as the Cabinet or the Revolutionary Council. Rather, in line with Islamic principles and standards, we have formulated a comprehensive plan on ways and means of landownership, land cession, and land reclamation in the Iranian Islamic Republic. And when submitting our plan to the Cabinet, we also made it available to certain analysts. Our plan makes special provision for beneficial employment, its implications, training rights of farmers of barren lands, continued economic activities in agriculture, and, at the same time, asserting farmers' rights, the rights of farmers who have become the owners of their allotted lands. Moreover, under our plan, the government shall provide facilities in order to expand the superficial area of farmlands, the reclamation of barren/uncultivated lands, and cede government-owned land to applicants who are ready to engage in farming and animal

husbandry. In addition, cumbersome regulations of the past will be radically overhauled, decision making will take place through the participation of farming councils representatives, and decentralization will be stressed.

It is hoped that ETTELA'AT would publish these clarifications in order to ensure the civil and religious rights of individuals, the establishment of relations between individuals on the basis of mutual consent/agreements, the creation of a safe and secure environment in villages, a greater use of water and soil resources. Also, in order to eliminate people's anxiety and misunderstanding, help people respect the rights of one another, avoid irregularities or violations in villages, and steadily expand Iranian agriculture."

After receiving this letter, we telephoned Mr Purtabataba'i, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, (by whom the letter was signed), and asked him the following questions:

ETTELA'AT: Will the implementation of this plan convert all landless farmers into landowners?

Mr Purtabataba'i: Every active and efficient individual engaged in agriculture will be provided with government-owned resources, especially government-owned barren land, arable but fallow land for reclamation. In providing that assistance, priority will be given to farmers residing in the localities involved. We are aiming at initiating a development and constructive program in villages in accordance with Islamic standards by emphasizing employment, a more liberal use of existing resources, and greater activity, by eliminating major roadblocks and scrapping cumbersome regulations. Under that plan, the rights gained by farmers, both petty landowners and farmers, will be preserved.

ETTELA'AT: Is the current plan consistent with the important Islamic precept that whoever works on a land should also own it?

Mr Purtabataba'i: Yes, in principle the major issue is that we shall support landowners who actually work on their lands and are beneficial to themselves and their society. Otherwise, we shall not support them.

ETTELA'AT: If a petty landowner hires a certain number of peasants to work on his land, in accordance with a contract, and profits therefrom while he, himself, does not engage in any work on it, will the land be considered as belonging to the peasants who work on it or the petty landowner who profits from it? Will not support of such type of land ownership be construed as exploitation of man by man?

Mr Purtabataha'i: Shariat's principles and standards contain adequate provisions governing contracts. Naturally when such Islamic principles are observed and the contract has been signed on the basis of human relations and with the satisfaction of the parties concerned, no exploitation shall take place. But this issue is complex and cannot be adequately discussed over the telephone.

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IRAN

BRIEFS

CANDIDATE WITHDRAWS--In an interview with AYANDEGAN last night, Hasan Nazih announced that he had changed his mind about becoming a candidate for the Assembly of Experts. He said: "I heartily thank the parties, community groups, honorable national and religious authorities and those fellow citizens who have found me suitable for membership in the Experts Assembly. For the reasons that I mentioned in yesterday's press interview (the day before yesterday), including the refusal of the reasonable request made by the Moslem People's Republic Party and myself regarding postponement of elections (which would definitely have been in the interest of the people and the country in approaching unity and national understanding and would have resulted in avoiding serious and unfavorable consequences, especially preventing monopolism and disunion), I hereby announce that I have changed my mind about becoming candidate for membership to the Assembly of Constitutional Expert. I wish that Iran and Iranianness endure under the protection of God, the Koran and Islam. [Text] [Tehran AYANDEGAN in Persian 2 Aug 79 p 2] 9044

ANVARI WITHDRAWS--Dr Abdolkarim Anvari, deputy chairman of the lawyers' institute and secretary to the Council of the National Front contacted AYANDEGAN last night and announced that he had changed his mind about his candidacy for the Assembly of Experts. Anvari explained: "I greatly appreciate the feelings the people expressing various viewpoints of Iran's National Front for the election of the Assembly of Experts. Unfortunately as there is no possibility for free election activities and the responsible authorities do not show any interest in alleviating the atmosphere of intimidation. I, therefore, announce that I am no longer a candidate and I am definitely hopeful that the rightful efforts of the true Moslems and antireactionary people of our country would soon give an opportunity for the true servants of the holy principle of freedom." As of last night the following announced that they had changed their minds about remaining candidates for the assembly. Hasan Sadr, Naser Enqeta', Hojjatoleslam Fahim Kermani (Kerman), Mohammad Ebrahim Shapuri (Kerman), Dr Salavati (Esfahan), Hasan Taqafi, Taher Ahmadzadeh (Governor general of Khorasan), Ostad Mohammadtaqi Shezi'ati, Gholamali Afruz, Ayatollah Mehdi Ha'eri Yazdi, Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Ali Asqar Dastaib, Mohammad Farahpur, Ali Asqar Madras, Dr Mohsen Jurabi, Khosrow Qashqa'i, Adib Borumand. [Text] [Tehran AYANDEGAN in Persian 2 Aug 79 p 2] 9044

POLITICAL GROUPS SHUN ELECTION--The following political groups and parties have officially announced that they are not participating in the elections to the Assembly of Constitutional Experts: the Communist Party of Iran's Workers and Farmers; the Women's Enlightened Society; Ashraf Dehqani Group (Fedayee Khalq Guerrillas); Unity for Freedom, Iran's Liberation Party; the Party of Future Pathway; Iran's Freemen (Azadegan); Azadegan (Freemen); the political group of Rah-e nou (new direction); the Republican Party of Iran's Federative People; Iran's National Democratic Front; Struggling Women's Society; Revolutionary Unity for Salvation of Labor; the Liberation Society [Text] [Tehran AYENDEGAN in Persian 2 Aug 79 p 2] 9044

IRAQI ISLAMIC GROUP--The Iraqi Islamic Revolutionary Organization issued a communique wherein it announced its readiness to join the World Oppressed party which has been proposed by Emam Khomeyni. The communique reads: "Your children in the Iraqi Islamic Revolutionary Organization who have supported your Revolution outside Iran and have on numerous occasions declared their solidarity and cooperation with your ideas, once again responds to the call of your invitation and declare their readiness to join the World Oppressed party under your wise leadership. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 Aug 79 p 2] 8291

CONDEMNATION OF IRAQI CLAIM--In a statement titled "The Progressive Movement of the Iranian Peoples Does not Need a Guardian," the National Democratic Front strongly condemned the Iraqi Government's latest claims. The text of the pronouncement follows: The National Democratic Front published a pronouncement regarding the latest claims of the Iraqi Government which stated the following: "In a propagandistic fanfare, the Iraqi Government recently called for restitution of the islands of Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb, and Abu Musa. It also called for the Iranian Government to grant self-determination to the Iranian peoples [of these islands]. Such is the collusion that the despotic Government of Iraq always uses to bring pressure to settle its special scores by advancing territorial claims and then turning to peaceful means to gain a satisfactory solution. The case is that there are many and various witnesses of this, and there is [therefore] no need to bring up this matter for the hundredth time. However, it should call for self-determination for peoples on its own country, not of its neighbor. The Government of Iraq has persistently followed a policy of years of crushing [minority] peoples and has not refrained from any crime in this matter, which shows the brazen extreme a despotic and inhuman government can do. [Text] [Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 4 Nov 79 p 12]

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POLL INDICATES WEIZMAN'S LEADERSHIP PREFERRED TO PERES

TA 041142 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Nov 79 p 3 TA

[Text] The leadership of 'Ezer Weizman as head of the Likud is preferred over that of Shim'on Peres as head of the alinement. This is the conclusion of a nationwide public opinion poll conducted by the Pori Institute at the request of HA'ARETZ.

The question posed was: "Who would you prefer to see in power: Shim'on Peres as head of the alinement or 'Ezer Weizman as head of the Likud"? Thirty-six percent favored 'Ezer Weizman as opposed to 27.2 percent who preferred Shim'on Peres.

Some 22.2 percent do not wish to see either 'Ezer Weizman as head of the Likud or Shim'on Peres as head of the alinement in power. The remainder 14.6 percent do not have any opinion on the issue.

The analysis of the replies according to their votes for the various parties in the last Knesset elections indicates that ex-DMC voters remain hesistant: 28.4 percent would like to see 'Ezer Weizman as leader of the Likud while a similar percentage of 26.2 would like to have Shim'on Peres in power as head of the alinement. Some 36.9 percent of ex-DMC voters do not favor either of the men and 8.5 percent do not have an opinion on the matter.

It is very interesting to see how the Likud and alinement voters are divided: 55.8 percent of the Likud voters want to see 'Ezer Weizman in power as head of the Likud and a similar percent (58.9) of the alinement voters want to see Shim'on Peres in power as leader of the alinement. However, 14 percent of the Likud voters prefer the alinement-Peres formation and a similar percentage (15.6 percent) of the alinement voters favor the Likud under Weizman's leadership.

Some 19.3 percent of the Likud voters and 15.6 percent of the alinement voters do not favor either of the men and 10.9 percent of the Likud voters and 9.9 percent of the alinement voters do not have a definite opinion.

The largest group of the NRP voters, 40.3 percent, do not want to see either Weizman or Peres in power. However, 25 percent of the NRP voters prefer the Likud's choice and 20.8 percent prefer the alinement's choice. Some 13.9 percent of the NRP voters do not have an opinion either way.

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## HERUT CHAIRMAN'S ELECTION ANALYZED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Oct 79 p 2

[Article: "Yoram Aridor Elected Herut Chairman"]

[Text] Deputy Minister Yoram Aridor was elected Herut chairman by the party's board which met in Metzudat-Ze'ev, Tel-Aviv on 3 October. Member of Knesset Aridor received 63 of the votes, and the other candidate, Member of Knesset Michael Dekel, was supported by 47 members. There were three abstentions, and eight members were absent.

Aridor's victory was assumed after Member of Knesset Eitan Livni announced his withdrawal and told the board members that he and Aridor had agreed to cooperate. Aridor's election is also seen as a substantial victory for ministers Ezer Weitzman and David Levy in the struggle beneath the surface for leadership of Herut. Knesset Chairman Yitzhaq Shamir supported Member of Knesset Dekel and even insisted on nominating him. Minister Ari'el Sharon was absent, but other members of the defunct Shlomzion movement did participate.

### Livni's Support

Member of Knesset Aridor said on 3 October that within 3 weeks he would propose a new makeup for the secretariat, which is to be the organizational arm of the party. Following his election he said that his main goal would be to ensure that, following the elections, there will be a new government centered around Herut and headed by Prime Minister Begin. Some sources in Herut said that in all probability Member of Knesset Livni will be asked to head the organization branch (which up to now was headed by Member of Knesset Dekel), and it is also possible that he will be deputy chairman as a reward for his support of Aridor.

### A Victory for Moderates

Although the struggle was among Members of Knesset Aridor, Dekel, and Livni, it has ideological overtones, because Aridor was backed by Ministers Weitzman and Levy, who are known for their moderate stands on political and defense issues, and who supported the peace treaty with Egypt

(Minister Levy nominated Mr Aridor). On the other hand, Member of Knesset Dekel was supported by a majority of those in Herut who opposed the peace treaty, among them Member of Knesset Shamir, chairman of the Knesset foreign and defense committee, Moshe Arnas, Professor Joseph Rom, Member of Knesset Yig'al Cohen-Orgad, and Member of Knesset David Shtern (Member of Knesset Roni Milo also supported Dekel). The other Knesset members supported Aridor. Among them were chairman of the coalition Chaim Dorfu, chairman of the Knesset party delegation Chaim Kaufman, and Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Tzipori, all moderates on foreign and defense issues.

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ISRAEL

AIR BATTLES WITH SYRIANS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 11 Oct 79 p 9

[Article by Ze'ev Shif: "More Air Battles Are Expected Over Lebanon, Following Which Damascus May Introduce Surface-to-Air Missiles Into Lebanon"]

[Text] Israel and Syria are like two fighters after the third round, who now face and suspiciously survey each other prior to the next round. Both sides have valid reasons to suspect the good intentions of the opposing side, but it seems that the Syrians are showing more nervousness. Israel suspects that Damascus will not remain quiet in the face of the downing of nine of its planes within 3 months, and therefore it will plan some retaliatory action: a missile attack or something along this line. Israel also expects that Syrian Air Force planes will continue to intercept our planes over Lebanon. In general, there is good cause for alertness and constant watch over the recent Syrian fortifications (especially in the air--with the addition of the new Mig-25's and the antiaircraft missile batteries--but also on land, with the addition of the T-72 tanks).

Syria has good cause to suspect that Israel intends to continue flights which may bring about more dogfights; that its planes will continue intelligence flights over Syria and actions in Lebanon against terrorist targets. The Syrians feel that they are alone in the confrontation with Israel, after Egypt signed a peace agreement and after the pact with Iraq did not turn out too well. They suspect that Israel would like to take advantage of the situation. Syrian nervousness is felt in many areas.

It is clear that, under the circumstances, this is not the last round. The present struggle is over Lebanon's airspace, or that is how both sides are defining it. Israel maintains it has a right to intelligence efforts over Lebanon, because there are concentrations of terrorists there, especially in the southern part of the country--terrorists who pose a threat to Israel and its citizens. It maintains the right to use its air force in order to foil their attempts.

A Syrian Operational Conclusion

Israel can also claim that Syria has in effect conquered sections of Lebanon and has large concentrations of forces there. Israel has to keep an

eye on these forces, which are those of a hostile country. Syria, on the other hand, claims that it will not let Israel do what it pleases in Lebanon's airspace, and that it will prevent the Israeli Air Force from hitting Palestinian targets in Lebanon. As long as there are such diametrically opposed positions, the region can expect further rounds, unless one side changes its declared position.

It would be wrong to think Syria feels that it has been totally defeated and that it has no chance in such a confrontation. It seems to this author that on the other side, things look different than what most Israeli Air Force, the Syrians probably think that up to now, judging by what happened in the past, they got out of it not too badly. In the third round, the last, where an unmanned Israeli plane was shot down, Damascus counted it as a victory.

Before the previous round, when Mig-21's were dispatched against Israeli Phantoms over Lebanon, the Israeli planes left the scene and the Syrians used air-to-air missiles against them. The Syrians could conclude that the Israelis ran away, or that they turned around because they did not want to engage in dogfights with the new Syrian planes. The downing of their planes is attributed to a trick and not to a real dogfight. We also have to take into account that they believe the debriefings of their pilots, that they indeed shot down two Israeli planes, as opposed to seven surprised Syrian planes, which is not too bad considering the superior Israeli Air Force.

The inevitable conclusion: the Syrians will continue with their declared policy. If Israel shirks from a confrontation with Mig-23's, they will probably conclude that it is just as well to engage more of these planes. In addition, they may decide to try to avoid Israeli planes or even lay traps for them. This operational conclusion fits in with the Syrian political line, according to which Syria has to demonstrate both to the Arab world and to the USSR that it is in the front line of the confrontation with Israel. Their estimate is that Syria will gain pan-Arab prestige, and that even Washington may end up pressuring Israel to discontinue, or at least minimize, intelligence flights over Lebanon.

Things should also be examined from a non-Syrian point of view. No far-reaching conclusion regarding the ability of both sides can be drawn from the downing of the unmanned Israeli plane. At most it points to a high degree of alertness of the Syrian defense system and to the fact that the radar system protecting the country is good and sufficiently sensitive. The downing of the unmanned plane does not say anything about the ability of the pilots that hit it. There was no air battle, and we do not know whether those guiding the plane did all they could to get it away. Certainly one cannot conclude that Israel can no longer conduct intelligence flights over Lebanon.

Israel has conducted intelligence flights over Arab countries for many years, within the limitations of the range of its planes. Utilizing

unmanned planes is but one method, and it does not prove that manned flights are not conducted in addition to the unmanned flights. It is silly to expect that Israel will not conduct intelligence flights over Syria, and certainly the same applies to terrorist concentrations. Anyone coming up with such a proposition can expect another Yom Kippur war or maybe even worse. As long as Israel cannot obtain satellite photographs, it will continue surveillance and intelligence flights over areas of confrontation countries. The downing of an unmanned plane will not deter it.

#### A Formula for Division

It can be assumed that, as time goes on, our planes may find it more and more difficult to conduct such flights, and that the risk will grow as the equipment possessed by the Arabs becomes more sophisticated. The Mig-25 is designed for dogfights at high altitudes and speeds. But even it may find it difficult to confront a fast Israeli plane that infiltrates quickly to take pictures. If a dogfight ensues, the heavy Mig-25 may find it difficult to face the F-15 or even the Phantom.

The Mig-25 has its limitations. In other words, Israel can and will continue its intelligence activities although the Syrians have been equipped with Mig-25's.

If the estimate that we are indeed facing a new round over Lebanon is valid, chances are that the battle will be held with the new Mig-23's. Even so, the Israeli Air Force will prevail, and it makes no difference whether the Syrians introduce more radar systems into Lebanon. When we talk about a confrontation with F-15 planes, experienced Israeli pilots, and the methods and tactics that the Israeli Air Force employs, the chances of victory, or even of a relatively "good" outcome, for the Syrian Air Force are very slim. The prestige of the Syrian regime will be badly hurt in such a confrontation. Therefore, if Damascus insists on getting in the way of the Israeli Air Force over Lebanon, it will end up concluding that it has to introduce antiaircraft missile batteries into Lebanon.

Israel will consider this a serious escalation, and it may serve as a *casus belli* that will force it to enlarge the scope of its activities. We then may slide into a kind of war of attrition which was hinted at by Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Talas--which is not what either side wants, for different reasons. Therefore, one can only conclude that if both sides want to avoid a war of attrition and a total deterioration, they had better find some kind of an unwritten formula for "division" over Lebanon's air-space. As far as Israel is concerned, the author thinks this is possible.

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EARNEST APPROACH TO AUTONOMY TALKS URGED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 5 Oct 79 p 13

[Article: "There Is No Escape From Substantive Talks on Autonomy"]

[Text] The settlers of Ofra tried to explain the break-in through the fence by saying that time is of the essence: pretty soon there will be autonomy in the territories, and they will not be able to achieve then what they can do now. These settlers have no doubt that autonomy is around the corner, and it seems that they are convinced it will be "for citizens" only. Otherwise they would not be worried about Jews taking over land--a prohibition that the local Arab administrative council will not be able to enact, since it will not have the legal authority to do so, or so said Mr Begin.

This approach by the settlers of Ofra and Gush Emunim followers, with their nuances, is in total contrast to the estimate which government sources are trying to talk the public into via information to the media. If we were to believe the official or semiofficial version, then it would seem that everything is all right. The Egyptian President is not pushing for the Palestinians to join the negotiations, and he even said so publicly, twice. The timetable for the joint sessions of the ministers and of the working committees of experts gives the impression that everything will continue in a relaxed manner, and no one seems to be concerned with the fact that the "target date" is only 6 months away.

But the nervousness of Gush Emunim does not seem totally unfounded, and it may even be more justified than the relaxed attitude of government sources.

Some in Israel now differentiate between Dr Boutrous Ghali, the "bad guy," and President Sadat, the "good guy." If we are to deduce from what happened in the United States when the "bad guy" was Secretary of State Rogers, whereas President Nixon was the savior who stepped in just in time and corrected what the secretary had almost done, then we ought to avoid this format.

True, Anwar Sadat rejected the American diplomatic onslaught which tried to rush the negotiations and have the Palestinians join them. We can only

guess at the Egyptian President's reasons: He may have estimated that a Security Council resolution based on Resolution 242 would anger Israel and could interfere with Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai--a process whose continued progress is necessary in order to justify his political initiative to the Egyptian people and the Arab world.

Sadat is not an ardent supporter of the PLO, the exaggerated support of which by American diplomats may be frowned upon by Amman. Anyone who wants the PLO to stop opposing autonomy had better stop courting it and wait for Yassir Arafat and his advisers to realize that in the long run they stand to gain by calling off the Arab boycott and by letting the Arabs in the territories participate in elections to the administrative council.

This is the reason why Sadat said in Haifa that Palestinian presence is only necessary after 3 years, that is, if the committee that will decide the final status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip does convene. Then, and only then, according to the Camp David accords, should "elected representatives" of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip take part in the negotiations--and not in the phase when autonomy and what it should be are discussed. Participation by Palestinians in the Egyptian or Jordanian delegation is conceivable but not mandatory.

The Egyptian President did not try to say anything that would contradict the accords when he said recently that it is possible, maybe even desirable, to conclude the autonomy talks without the Palestinians. Suffice it that they vote and get elected to the administrative council, whenever such elections are held. It is well known that the "joint letter" did not set forth a "target date" for this. It was only promised that elections would be held "as soon as possible" after the conclusion of the talks.

Why should we then not just sit back? Can we ever expect a more convenient situation, with Dr Ghali claiming that without representation of the Arabs from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip "there is no sense in negotiating," whereas the Egyptian President maintains that the job can definitely be accomplished without them?

Actually President Sadat put the Palestinian issue away. But those who maintain this ignore the fact that Dr Ghali said a few other things at the last meeting in Alexandria. For the first time he stressed "substantial" issues, as opposed to procedural matters, and even went further and said that autonomy for "people only," rather than for people and land, is absurd.

If Anwar Sadat really wanted to refute what Dr Ghali had said, he would have said that the claim of absurdity is pointless and that the idea of autonomy for people only, the version of the Israeli Prime Minister and the Israeli delegation, is a healthy one, logical and practical. But the Egyptian President refrained from saying just that, and while he lets his foreign secretary (who has yet to be appointed foreign minister) call for the joining of Palestinian representatives, and creates the impression in Israel that he has rebuked an Egyptian official who is not even a minister, he is quiet on the real issue.

Those who fight for giving the administrative council wide authority--and this is the Egyptian and American line in the autonomy talks--act so as to enable the leaders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to obtain PLO permission to implement autonomy while taking an active part in putting it together. They will come of their own accord, with no need for pleading at this stage of the game, because autonomy, as Dr Ghali and Mr James Leonard, the American representative, see it, will certainly tempt them to turn it into a springboard for a Palestinian "entity." The latter can join, under a federation or a confederation, the Jordanian Hashimite Kingdom, or it could form a "united Jordanian kingdom"--or even declare itself an independent state, when the time comes.

What now seems to many as a definite contradiction between Dr Ghali and Sadat is possibly only partly a game. There is reason to expect that in future meetings the Egyptian delegation will push for adoption of their position as regards the authority of the administrative council. We should not be surprised if after January 1980, the date when the IDF is supposed to end the withdrawal to the El-'Arish Ras-Muhammed line, the pressure will increase, while pointing to the target date of 26 April.

Up to now our delegation has managed to postpone any serious discussion on the shape of autonomy, with the exception of how to set up the administrative council. Will it succeed in doing it in the future as well?

It is interesting to note what Brigadier General (Reserve) Arye Shalev had to say in this context. He recently published a paper on "autonomy, its problems and possible solutions," as part of the publications of the Center for Strategic Research. "When the continuation of negotiations depends on the participation of the leaders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the question becomes what the contribution of the United States can be. It can be estimated that because of some broad considerations (oil, influence in the Arab world) and recognition of the dominance of the PLO in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, the United States may change its policy in the future and demand the participation of the PLO, if it becomes somewhat more moderate, and then the United States could recognize the PLO and the Palestinians' right to self-determination."

Shalev continues: "It is less likely that this will happen during the next year, a presidential election year (with primaries in February and March 1980 and the elections in November), when the President is fighting to stay in office. It can be assumed that he will not risk taking a pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli stand. If this assertion is correct, it means that the administration's freedom of maneuver will be rather limited in the coming year, and thus its ability to substantially change policies on the Palestinian issue" (pp 60-61).

The Center for Strategic Research is not a government agency, and Brigadier General Shalev does not presume to claim that the government will try to stall the negotiations until after the American elections. But we should not take it for granted that what the hypothetical analysis of an outside observer comes up with stems from a vacuum. In another place (pp 172-173)

he even proposes that stalling may continue until the beginning of 1981, and since elections to the 10th Knesset are scheduled for November 1981, perhaps until then.

Brigadier General Shalev suggests taking into account that the next American president will recognize the PLO. If he does that, "the risk is that negotiations will not be based only on Camp David but also on an altered American position regarding Israel" (p 173). Again, it should not be assumed that the quoted paper reflects a thorough investigation of a strong stand in the government in favor of stalling the negotiations, but anyone following the actual policy of the government could conclude that it is indeed looking for ways to stall the substantive discussion on autonomy until after the target date of 6 months from now.

The government should be warned against these attempts. We cannot expect any political gains from them. On the contrary, it stands to reason that stalling can only strengthen the PLO and the Rejection Front. It would be better not to interpret what Sadat said about the Palestinians' not being necessary for the negotiations now as meaning that he really feels strongly in agreement with the Israeli Prime Minister. The satisfaction that many voice here any time the Egyptian President sounds appeasing is not justified. Since the Camp David accords on a framework for peace in the Middle East are for 5 years only, let us work for its realization--while struggling with Egyptian and American attempts to lay the foundation now for independence of the Arabs of the West Bank. But let us do it with sincerity.

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CSO: 4805

STRICTER CONTROLS OVER IDF PERSONNEL FILES NEEDED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 5 Oct 74 p 15

[Article: "Classified Military Information Reaching Private Individuals Who Use It for Their Own Benefit"]

[Text] The altercation began as a very minor issue. A navy lieutenant returned from a short vacation abroad and brought a small electrical appliance, worth about \$30, for his commanding officer. The commanding officer, a commander in rank, thought that this was meant as a present. The lieutenant was angry with the commander, who did not even offer to pay for the item just to be polite. Because of this misunderstanding, relations between the two became strained. Within a few months the two officers stopped talking to each other, and the murky atmosphere that resulted had repercussions on the functioning of the whole unit.

The commander, who did not know what caused the whole thing in the first place, decided that the lieutenant had emotional problems. He instructed the unit's physician to ~~not~~ him for observation in a closed mental institution. The physician obliged. The infirmary's chief petty officer was told: "True, I should refer the lieutenant to a mental health officer, and he will decide whether the man needs treatment at all, but I do not want to start an argument with the commander. He demands that the man be sent for observation, and this is what I am doing. If it turns out that he is indeed crazy, I will have acted properly. Otherwise he will be released and even then nothing happened."

The lieutenant spent 2 weeks in a mental institution and was released as mentally healthy (he is probably one of the few citizens in Israel to carry a certificate attesting to the fact that he is not crazy...). Immediately after that the lieutenant demanded to be transferred. His request was granted. But the anger about the whole matter was still such that he decided to get out of the IDF altogether. The decision was made easy by the fact that he has a technical skill which is very much sought after in the civilian market. Before he started formal proceedings for release he started looking for a job. He met with the personnel managers of two of the largest concerns in the country. Each of them, separately, was only too delighted to have him, expressed their enthusiastic willingness to hire him, and even prodded him as to when he could start. A few

days after each respective interview, the lieutenant received an announcement, very politely worded, the gist of which was to rescind any intention of hiring him. No real explanation was given.

Friends of the lieutenant who worked in those two concerns found out the reason for the strange rejections. They discovered that secret personal details about him had reached the personnel managers. Among them was the fact that he had been hospitalized for 2 weeks for observation. This made him a mental case in their eyes, although the results of the observation were totally different.

The lieutenant talked about it to a senior IDF officer. This author knows for a fact that the senior officer sent a personal letter to the chief of staff, Lieutenant General Refa'el Eitan, detailing the case and recommending stricter supervision of military personnel, regular and in permanent service, who work with the IDF computer, in order that classified information not be leaked.

#### For the Fun of It

It all started as gossip information, via friends. Women soldiers made contacts with computer personnel, and as a personal favor asked to find out if those officers whom they had met were indeed single as they purported to be, what their medical profile was, their IQ, and whether they had really passed all those difficult military courses they claimed they had.

Both the requesters and the leakers did not see anything wrong with what they did, because "what don't you do for friends?"

In recent years, when many military officers were hired as managers of plants, or mostly as personnel manager, leaks became worse. The managers, before hiring any military officers who either had resigned or were released, were not content with just the discharge papers, but wanted to know more about the candidates' military past. This did not always stem from sincere interest in the candidate's skills. Sometimes they wanted to find out details that were irrelevant to the job.

Some of those managers managed to obtain classified information by using contacts they had kept up since their days in the military. Some did not hesitate to approach private investigators, as is done with graphologists, in order that the latter obtain, among other things, computer printouts containing classified information pertaining to the candidate. In order to be able to satisfy their clients, some investigators started cultivating relations with computer personnel. It should be pointed out that as far as is known there were no bribes involved--just personal friendships that the sophisticated investigators manage to form. No one wants information for money. They do not create the impression that their request is illegal. They present it as a favor based on close friendship, and obviously it is difficult to turn a friend down, especially when the request seems innocent.

A conversation with private investigators reveals that quite often it is possible to find out all kinds of information about a potential employee without resorting to the computer. Thus, for example, an officer left the IDF a number of years ago and has since been employed for a long time in one or two plants. It is possible to collect data and estimate, based on his past performance, how he may function in his new position. But it is precisely those personnel managers who are former officers who urge the investigators not to be content with previous jobs but also to obtain data relating to military service. At the same time the managers know, and the investigators repeatedly stress, that for the specific need of hiring an individual, the military data are meaningless. But when a client insists and demands certain information related to military service, the investigator has to comply.

#### Not for Money

Rumors that not only friends of computer personnel but also investigators have access to classified military information have encouraged other concerns to turn to investigators. The most recent known case is tied in with the testimony of a bystander in a criminal case. One night the man accidentally came upon a burglar as the latter was escaping from an apartment where he had been spotted by neighbors. The suspect was caught by police a few hundred meters from the scene. No one knows how, but the suspect's family learned that the main prosecution witness was released from the IDF for mental health reasons. The suspect's lawyer could have delved into this matter during testimony, but he preferred to clarify the point prior to the trial in order that he might find out for sure whether there was any truth to the rumor. Thus he could avoid questioning the witness on this point during the trial so that he would not lose the case if it turned out there was nothing to the rumor.

An investigator was retained in order to obtain classified information from the computer. Within a week he reported to the lawyer that following the Yom Kippur war and within the past 2 years, the military profile of the witness had been changed to 24 following a nervous breakdown he had had while in the service. Now the lawyer could prepare in advance a series of questions which might cast a doubt on the reliability of the witness, while presenting him as a mental case.

There is no doubt that the military authorities should increase supervision over computer personnel. On the one hand the IDF is careful not to hand out data to the Interior or the Treasury Ministry, claiming that many citizens who divulge such personal information, which is important for the military, will refrain from doing so if they know that the information may be passed on. On the other hand, there are continuous leaks of classified information to friends of computer personnel, to private investigators, and actually to anyone who is willing to pay for the right contacts for the purpose of obtaining such information, which is sometimes classified for security reasons.

The basic problem is to find the right way to handle it. As mentioned already, all or most of the leaks to date were not made for money. If supervision is tightened, bribes may replace "personal, good friendships." Thus the problem will not be solved but computer personnel will be corrupted by bribes. The problem can be eliminated, or at least alleviated, only by strict rules and education in proper procedures, with an understanding of their importance. Also, changes of some procedures which have not been reevaluated for years will have to be made.

8646

CSO: 4805

BRIEFS

SETTLEMENT POLICY HARMS ISRAEL--The majority of the public thinks that settlement policy harms Israel's position in the world. This is the finding of the Pori Institute's nationwide public opinion poll held at the request of HA'ARETZ. Of those polled, 63.5 percent hold this opinion in contrast with a mere 8.1 percent who believe that the settlement policy benefits Israel's position in the world. Of those questioned 15.7 percent think that the government's settlement policy has no effect, that it neither benefits nor harms Israel's position in the world. That the government has no settlement policy at all was the opinion of 0.9 percent, while 11.8 percent have no opinion on the matter. Outstanding among those who believe that Israeli settlement policy is harmful are members of the socioeconomically advanced population strata. Among people with higher education, professionals, administrators, high-income workers and veteran residents who were in the country before the establishment of the state, over 70 percent believe that the government's settlement policy is harmful to Israel's position in the world. The poll encompassed a representative sample of 1,200 men and women who were personally interviewed in their homes throughout the country. [Text] [TA051037 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 5 Nov 79 p 8 TA]

NABULUS MAYOR JUSTIFIES TERRORIST ACT--Nabulus Mayor Bassam al-Shak'a justifies the terrorist act on the coastal road [which took place in spring of 1978]. In a meeting he had today with the coordinator of activities in the territories, Maj Gen Dani Mat, Bassam al-Shak'a said that until the Palestinian problem is solved such acts are justified, effective and naturally called for. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari learned this from senior officers in the military authorities. The Nabulus mayor refused to react. [Text] [TA061131 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 6 Nov 79 TA]

CSO: 4805

JORDAN

JORDAN SAID STILL TOWING U.S. SETTLEMENT POLICY LINE

Beirut AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 17 Sep 79 p 29

[Article by Bassam Haidadin: "'Abd-al-Hamid Sharaf: Wagering on U.S. Settlement and Keeping Step With Its Tempo"]

[Text] Whoever follows the statements and press interviews given every now and then by al-Sharif 'Abd-al-Hamid Sharaf, the chief of the Hashimite Royal Court, can read clearly the course and political inclinations of the Jordanian regime vis-a-vis the issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict and their developments. In his interview with the Jordanian AL-DUSTUR correspondent in Havana on 7 September, Sharaf reaffirmed the mainstays and directions of the Jordanian policy in the coming phase, thus eliminating the doubt in the heart of those who still wager on the Jordanian "intransigence" and on the seriousness of the Jordanian refusal to take part in the ongoing negotiations for solving the Middle East crisis on the basis of the Camp David accords.

Disagreement Over Means and Not Bases

Summing up the Jordanian-U.S. relations and the official Jordanian position toward the U.S. policy in the area, Sharaf said: "Our relations with Washington are normal. The disagreement is over the means to achieve peace. The dialogue with the United States continues and has not been interrupted." A political reading of this interview given by one of the most prominent pillars of the Jordanian political leadership and by its unnamed spokesman means clearly that the starting point of the Jordanian regime's policy and directions in this phase is still based on wagering on the U.S. policy in the area and that the dialogue goes on between Jordan and the United states so that Jordan may find its right place in the U.S. policy and in the settlement supported by this policy--a settlement which in the final analysis means nothing but capitulation to the Israeli terms and expansionist ambitions and bowing to Israel's determination to cling to the occupied Arab territories and to reject the Palestinian people's national rights. This is confirmed when Sharaf confines the disagreement between Jordan and the United States to the means for achieving

the U.S. "peace" in the area and not to the foundations on which this alleged peace is built--foundations that have been defined by the Camp David accords as the base from which the U.S. policy in the area will proceed to achieve its comprehensive solution for the Middle East issue.

#### Relationship With Organization Normal

As for the relationship with the PLO, Sharaf expressed his satisfaction with the development of this relationship that "has entered the phase of normal relations and of joint coordination." It seems that Sharaf is talking about another PLO in another planet and not the PLO recognized by the Arabs and the world as a sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people or, and this seems more likely, it seems that al-Sharif 'Abd-al-Hamid Sharaf considers the abnormal relationship with the PLO as the natural condition for Jordan's relationship with the organization and that he wants the organization to provide him with a cover to pass the Jordanian regime's policy and with a pressuring card to realize better terms in the deal to join the settlement plans directed by the United States on the basis of the Camp David accords and of the Israeli-Egyptian treaty. Al-Sharif Sharaf and others know well that the relationship between the organization and Jordan is proceeding from bad to worse and that the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue is threatened with interruption because of the Jordanian official determination to reject the organization's minimal demands. The Jordanian regime is still pursuing and arresting the organization's members and supporters and still refuses to release tens of political detainees, the most prominent of whom are Taysir al-Ziri and Usamah Shannar, the members of the Palestinian National Council.

#### Jordan's Participation in Negotiations Required

It is significant that the statement of al-Sharif 'Abd-al-Hamid Sharaf, one of the most prominent pillars of the Jordanian political leadership, on the continuation of the policy of wagering on the U.S. settlement and on keeping step with this settlement's tempo comes at a time when the negotiations for the implementation of self-rule on the basis of the Camp David accords and the basis of the Israeli-Egyptian treaty continue and at a time when al-Sadat and Begin emerge after a meeting in Haifa to invite the United States to exert its efforts and escalate its endeavors to make Jordan join the ongoing self-rule negotiations.

The efforts of the Camp David parties are focused in this phase on attracting Jordan to the arena of the ongoing negotiations concerning the self-rule, considering that this [Jordan's participation] is the only way out of the deadend reached by the parties concerned in the self-rule negotiations that continue in the absence of any Palestinian side willing to participate in them. These U.S. efforts are received with strong reverberations and with an open heart by the Jordanian regime which is responding to these efforts through its continued wagering on the U.S. policy in the area, through its refusal to correct the relationship with the PLO and through its refusal to abide practically by the Baghdad summit resolutions.

REGIME'S POSITION ON PLO DETAINEES CRITICIZED

Beirut AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 17 Sep 79 p 30

[Article by B. H. [Bassam Haddadin]: "Detainees and Jordanian-Palestinian Dialogue"]

[Text] The way in which the Jordanian regime is dealing with the issue of the political detainees in Jordan who are members of the PLO and of the Jordanian National Movement and who exceed 2,000 detainees in number evokes wrath and ridicule. The PLO delegation which visited Jordan recently and met with the regime's leaders in al-Mafraq was told that the PLO has nothing to do with the Jordanian detainees and that the security authorities concerned will study the possibility of releasing the PLO detainees who have not committed acts in violation of security. The PLO delegation did not argue and was content with these promises only to discover that they are false promises. Of all the detainees with which the government's cells and prisons abound, the Jordanian Government has released eight persons and has kept in its cells tens of sons of the Palestinian revolution, led by strugglers Taysir al-Ziri and Usamah Shannar who are members of the Palestinian National Council.

The Jordanian Government knows perfectly well that Shannar, al-Ziri and tens of other detainees in its cells have not committed the slightest act in violation of security and that their sole guilt is that they are members of the PLO and owe their loyalty to their people.

The PLO leadership has not commented with a single word on this new slap by the Jordanian regime, as if the dialogue with Jordan has become an end in itself, regardless of the foundations on which the dialogue is established, of the Jordanian regime's seriousness in dealing with the PLO and of the issue of the regime's continued arrest and persecution of the PLO's members and leaders in Jordan.

If the Jordanian regime is determined not to offer any serious facilities to the organization and if it persists in its policy of oppressing and bearing down on its members and supporters, isn't it the right of all the Palestinian

and Jordanian patriots to wonder about the seriousness of continuing the dialogue with the Jordanian regime? The prevailing feeling among both the Jordanian and Palestinian patriots is that the organization must take a serious pause during which it set matters aright. Otherwise, it is futile to continue the dialogue because the Jordanian regime is the only winner and the organization is the biggest loser.

8494

CSO: 4802

FRG TO SUPPLY COUNTRY WITH SECURITY, RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT

Beirut AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 17 Sep 79 p 30

[Article by F. 'Abbas: "Federal German Experts and Equipment for Jordanian Oppression Agencies"]

[Text] It has been announced in Amman that a bilateral agreement was signed by the Jordanian Government and the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] in accordance with which the Bonn Government will advance to Jordan a financial aid of 4 million Deutsche marks to finance the purchase of some equipment for the Jordanian security and police agencies and will send specialized German experts to Jordan to provide training on this equipment.

The FRG, which has become famous for its technology in the advanced "instruments and equipment for torture and for riot control" that are used at a wide scale by the black regimes of oppression and dictatorship and which is famous for its broad experience in the spheres and means of "interrogation and torture" that are inherited from the days of the Nazis--this FRG is very interested these days in expanding its activities and services in our area!

After its "abundant" services in bolstering and protecting many lackey fascist and dictatorial regimes in the area, including Israel, Egypt, Morocco and Sudan, the FRG's new "dirty American" activity is extending to Jordan under the guise of aid and of the various bilateral agreements signed by the two countries' governments.

The visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Bonn Government's minister of foreign affairs, and his delegation to Jordan--a visit which has come in the wake of the large-scale propaganda on a new European initiative in the area and of the talk about a distinctive role by the FRG in this initiative--has produced several bilateral agreements between the two countries, including a cultural agreement providing for German aid to Jordan and an agreement for a German loan to finance some Jordanian projects. But the most important of these agreements was the one signed by the Jordanian director of public security on behalf of the Jordanian side and by the new German ambassador for the German side.

In accordance with this agreement, the Bonn Government will supply Jordan with various quantities of the products of the famous German technology used by the intelligence and security men and for "riot control"--riots such as those that took place in the streets of the Jordanian cities during the large-scale popular uprising at the end of last March and the beginning of April. The Bonn Government will also send its specialized experts to train those working in the Jordanian oppression agencies on the use of this equipment and these new means.

The Bonn Government is not the only dirty American in Jordan. In the early 1950's, there were the British Intelligence Service men and they were followed by the American CIA men who are still very active at a large scale and in various forms and ways. In addition to the specialized men of the U.S. Embassy and the broad services their administration offers Jordan, there are tens of "experts" and CIA men who work in Jordan under the guise of the special U.S. agencies, [words dropped]. They are active in drawing up and directing the country's economic, internal and other policies and in recruiting the high-ranking officials to serve the U.S. Intelligence Agency.

8494  
CSO: 4802

COUNTRY'S ENERGY SOURCES SAID TO BE LIMITED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 18 Sep 79 p 6

[Article by Ahmad al-Dabbas: "Energy in Jordan: Its Present and Future; Confirmed Sources Are Limited and Confined to Shale Oil; Boosting Oil Prospecting Programs and Streamlining Local Consumption"]

[Text] Amman--JNS--The energy problem has emerged at present as one of the most prominent international problems. At a time when we in Jordan are achieving high growth rates and marching forward with the development plans, the cost of energy is almost consuming most of our revenues from our national production.

This is why the call to adopt the means capable of reducing energy consumption has become urgent and constitutes a national demand with which both the citizen and the state are concerned.

In this report, we will shed light on the energy situation, on how energy is consumed in Jordan and on the means capable of reducing this consumption.

Energy Sources

In an interview on the energy sources in Jordan, 'Ali al-Nusur, the general director of the Electricity Authority, has said:

The confirmed sources of energy in Jordan are limited so far and are almost confined to shale oil [al-sukhur al-zaytiyah] which require considerable human and technological efforts, in addition to vast financial investments, to be exploited. Insofar as oil is concerned, the prospecting has not produced so far quantities fit to constitute a basis for a long-range energy plan.

Moreover, the waterfalls cannot supply more than 50 megawatts or five percent of the capacity required in the year 2000. As for geothermal energy, it is still in the phase of exploration.

It is evident from the aforementioned that the sources of energy existing in the country are limited and meager whereas demand for energy, whether in the form of electricity or other forms, is rising year after year. It is expected that the individual's share will amount in the year 2000 to 1,200 kilowatt-hour annually compared to 300 kilowatt-hour in 1978.

#### Fuel Consumption

Regarding the fuel volume consumed by the Electricity Authority and the cost of this consumption, al-Nusur said:

Jordan relies totally on imported oil as a fundamental energy source. It is expected that the value of Jordan's annual oil imports will rise in 1979 to 76 million dinars. This is equal to the value of all of Jordan's exports of phosphate, industrial products and agricultural products.

Moreover, oil is the main source for generating electricity. The Electricity Authority's consumption amounted in 1978 to 68,962 tons of diesel fuel, in addition to 104,315 tons of heavy fuel, that have cost the state nearly 2 million dinars. If we take into consideration the constant rise in oil prices, the cost of what the Electricity Authority will need will amount to 35 million dinars in the year 2000.

The Electricity Authority is trying to make use of any new source to generate electricity and to diversify the sources of electric energy so that it may not remain the hostage of reliance on oil as the sole source of electricity production.

#### Production Cost

Al-Nusur said that the cost of production per kilowatt-hour from gas turbine No 1 in al-Husayn Thermal Plant is 16 fils whereas this cost is 6 fils from steam unit No 1, 5.9 fils from steam unit No 2 and 5.8 fils from steam unit No 3. We thus find that the average cost of production per kilowatt-hour from both the steam and gas units is 6.5 [sic] fils whereas the cost in the Marka gas-operated plant is 14 fils. If we calculate the average cost of production in both al-Husayn and Marka plant we find that it is 9 fils whereas it amounts to 18 fils in the diesel plant in al-'Aqabah, 15 fils in the new al-'Aqabah plant and 27 fils in al-Karak. He pointed out that these rates are reasonable and compatible with the international rates. He further said:

These figures cover the production costs represented in fuel, lubricants, water, spareparts, operational wages and sparepart consumption.

### State Subsidy

Regarding the state subsidy for electricity production, Engineer al-Nusur said:

The state provides the Electricity Authority with an annual subsidy to meet the fuel costs. The sum allocated by the government to subsidize the Electricity Authority with the aim of covering the fuel costs for this year has amounted to 600,000 dinars so as to supply electricity to the citizen at the set price.

Regarding the alternative sources of energy, the general director of the Electricity Authority said that these sources are:

#### Shale Oil

Shale oil is present in various parts of Jordan. The quantities proven to exist in al-Qatrarah area in southern Jordan are estimated at 800 million tons. The studies and analyses conducted by the Natural Resources Authority have proven that the quality of the [shale] rocks present in the area is a good quality in terms of thermal value, sulfur content and content of other minerals if compared to the quality of the shale rocks present in the Soviet Union and actually utilized to generate electricity.

The Jordanian government, represented in the National Planning Council, the Electricity Authority and the Natural Resources Authority, is exerting serious efforts to exploit the shale oil in cooperation with the Soviet Union. A team of Soviet experts were invited this April and were familiarized with the rock sites in al-Lajjun area and with the studies, reports and analyses conducted by the Natural Resources Authority. It was the estimate of the experts that the rock quantity available is enough to supply a thermal plant with a production capacity of 300 megawatts for a period of 200 years. A Soviet delegation including geological and mining experts also visited Jordan this September, inspected the site of the [shale] rocks and examined the said reports and studies. These experts affirmed that the quantities of shale rock in al-Lajjun area amounts to more than 800 million tons and that the rock is of a good quality. It has also been decided to send specimens to the Soviet Union for shale rock utilization [tests].

Al-Nusur further said that if we succeed in the shale oil experiment within 8 years, the authority will build an experimental power station in al-Qatrarah relying on shale rock.

#### Waterfalls

The waterfalls existing in Jordan are represented in al-Maqarin Dam and King Talal Dam where 50 megawatts can be generated

**Geothermal heat:** The presence of some hot springs in the area of Zarqa' Ma'in indicates that there is a possibility that enough water exists to generate electricity, especially since the temperature of some springs reaches 200 degrees centigrade whereas the temperature needed to generate electricity economically is 150 degrees centigrade. The Natural Resources Authority, in cooperation with the U.N. Development Program, is implementing a program aimed at prospecting for hot wells that can be utilized in generating electricity.

**Solar energy:** The state is devoting special attention to the solar energy in its capacity as a permanent and relatively cheap source. The Royal Scientific Society's studies, research and applications concerning solar energy are receiving the government's encouragement. As for the utilization of solar energy to generate electricity, there is a joint project between the Jordanian government and the United States of America to build an experimental plant with a capacity of 100 kilowatts.

The authority is currently holding contacts to build an experimental electricity plant powered by solar energy and with a capacity of 100 kilowatts in a remote village.

**Wind energy:** There is a possibility for utilizing wind energy in the remote villages.

**Garbage:** The Electricity Authority invited a Swiss expert to study the possibility of using the garbage produced by the greater Amman area to generate electric power. As a result of the initial studies conducted by the said expert, it has become evident that there is a possibility for utilizing the garbage of the greater Amman area to generate 20 to 25 megawatts of electric power.

**Energy conservation:** In its technical sense, energy conservation means a more efficient use and less waste of energy without affecting economic growth. In other words, it means the use of a smaller amount of energy to produce the [same] unit of goods or services. Because developing alternatives and increasing resources requires a long time before the phase of commercial production is reached, energy conservation becomes one of the best options to deal with the energy crisis in the short and medium ranges.

#### Electric Power Situation

Insofar as the electric power situation in terms of production, consumption and the individual's share are concerned, Engineer al-Nusur said:

The power consumed in 1978 amounted to 615 megawatt-hour compared to 513 megawatt-hour in 1977, i.e., with an increase of 19.88 percent.

Amman and al-Balqa' governorates consumed 81.14 percent, Irbid governorate 9.76 percent, al-Karak governorate 4.55 percent and Ma'an governorate 4.55 percent.

Residential consumption constitutes 36.32 percent of the total consumption whereas industrial consumption amounts to 27.73 percent, consumption for commercial purposes amounts to 11.96 percent, consumption for pumping water amounts to 3.26 percent and consumption for street lighting amounts to 2.26 percent.

The per capita share of the electric energy consumed in 1978 amounted to 293 kilowatt-hour whereas it was 182 kilowatt-hour in 1975.

The number of subscribers in 1978 amounted to 179,983 compared to 162,424 subscribers in 1977, i.e., with an increase of 10.31 percent.

#### Generating Capacity

Al-Husayn Thermal Plant: Three steam units with a capacity of 33 megawatts each, one gas unit with a capacity of 19 megawatts and another gas unit with a capacity of 14 megawatts.

Marka Plant: Twelve diesel units with various capacities totaling altogether 45 megawatts, two gas units with a capacity of 20 megawatts each, thus bringing the plant's total capacity to 85 megawatts. This is in addition to a number of small plants owned by the Jordanian Electricity Company and having a capacity of 5 megawatts.

Al-Karak: Three diesel units with a capacity of 1.5 megawatts each, thus bringing the total capacity to 4.5 megawatts.

Al-'Aqabah: The capacity of the old plant amounts to 6 megawatts. The two diesel units in the new plant have a capacity of 3.5 megawatts each.

On the question of economizing in production and consumption, Engineer al-Nusur said:

Since the beginning of the energy crisis and since the consumer has developed the conviction on the need to save electricity efficiently, we have been thinking of economizing in the production of electricity to the degree whereby the efficient units are operating while the reserves are saved for hot situations and of producing at the minimum cost possible without affecting the electricity supply.

To save in the costs of production and consumption, we must use the efficient equipment. In the long range, the solution lies, according to our plans, in boosting the oil prospecting programs and in utilizing shale oil [al-sukhur al-zaytiyah] for the production of power. Ai-Nusur urged the citizens to streamline their electricity consumption and to use lighting when needed and not in a wasteful manner noticed in many houses.

## BENEFITS OF NEW LABOR BILL DISCUSSED

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 8 Sep 79 p 8

[Article by Hamid al-Sa'ayidah: "New and Advanced Labor Law in Kingdom; What Are Justifications for Promulgating This Law and What Are Benefits It Offers Workers; Dr Taysir 'Abd-al-Jabir: Implementation of This Law Will Begin After 6 Months: Bright, Positive and Modern Aspects in Law"]

[Text] Numerous amendments have been introduced on the Jordanian labor law which is currently in force and which went into effect in 1960.

During the long period in which this law has been in force, important developments have occurred in the Jordanian society requiring re-examination of this law and its amendments.

The authorities concerned have drawn a new bill that seeks to regulate the relationship between the business owners and the workers, to enhance production, to block the gaps in the currently implemented law and to catch up with the social developments that have occurred in the Jordanian society.

This is why AL-DUSTUR has conducted this interview with Dr Taysir 'Abd-al-Jabir, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor, on the new labor bill which will replace the current law and on the benefits of the new law.

### Justifications For New Law

Dr Taysir says: The establishments, companies and projects operating in Jordan, especially in the industry, commerce, transport, banking and other sectors, have expanded. The percentage of citizens working in the cities has risen whereas the percentage of those working in the agricultural sector has dropped. The employment picture in Jordan has been reversed. Whereas we had unemployment in the 1960's and the early 1970's, we now have full employment. Moreover, a need has been generated in the Jordanian economy to import a foreign work-force including nearly 60,000 workers who are employed mainly in the services, commerce, agriculture and construction.

### **Employment of Manpower in Development Projects**

The undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor says that under the canopy of the development plan, Jordan has begun to set up a number of big projects that will employ large numbers of workers, such as the potash, fertilizers and refinery projects which require the creation of new labor-industry relations on a new basis. This means that the Jordanian society has actually undergone social and economic developments in the past 20 years. The labor law must take these developments into consideration because this law is connected--by virtue of the labor relationships, especially from the angle of their impact on production, on the labor-industry relations, on the worker's welfare, on the labor organizations and on other aspects--with society as a whole, particularly with society's production activity which is linked directly with its ability to achieve development and progress.

Dr 'Abd-al-Jabir adds: In this period, Jordan's relations with the outside world, especially with the International Labor Organization and with the Arab Labor Organization, expanded.

The Jordanian government also ratified numerous labor agreements containing advanced principles and bases acceptable to the international community and regulating the various aspects of labor conditions. It is essential that the impact of these agreements appear in the Jordanian labor law.

Dr Taysir further says: Through experience, the relationship between the three sides of the work triangle, namely the government, the business owners and the workers, matured and they [workers] have gained the right to express their views on various matters concerning their conditions and to participate in drawing up the main frameworks organizing these conditions.

The business owners' and workers' organizations have displayed through their actions a high degree of responsibility and affiliation by their eagerness for the stable continuity of the labor-industry relations--a stability that leads to higher, better and more efficient production and to improving the work conditions and the conditions of the workers.

### **Vocational Training Establishment, Social Security Establishment**

During this period, two major establishments closely connected with workers and with industrial relations were founded, namely the Vocational Training Establishment which was founded in 1976 and the Public Social Security Establishment which was founded in 1978. The training establishment is concerned with a main aspect of the labor market which is the aspect of training Jordanian workers, providing them with the necessary skills and raising their vocational capabilities to meet the increasing demand for skilled labor in Jordan and in the fraternal neighboring Arab countries. The undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor adds that under the conditions of full employment, the task of training has become a major responsibility that

has to be organized in cooperation with the other government agencies, the businessmen and the workers through drawing up a training work plan and opening specialized centers to provide this training.

This is followed by the adoption of an important and new step in the Jordanian labor market, namely the step of categorizing the worker's skills and giving each worker a certificate stating his skill and the level of his mastery of this skill. This will be reflected positively in the performance of work and in the industrial relations.

As for the Public Social Security Establishment, it will be in charge of providing the worker with security in old age, death [sic], work-related injuries and other cases, some of which the 1960 law deals with.

The establishment's role emerges in creating a comprehensive social security vessel that covers Jordanian workers in the various establishments in Jordan and the Jordanian workers abroad. Dr Taysir points out that the role of the Jordanian workers employed abroad has emerged clearly in their bonds to their country and in the investments they employ in the various spheres [through their remittances], especially in the spheres of housing, industry and trade.

The undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor further points out that His Highness Crown Prince Hasan presented, in the speech he addressed to the international labor conference in Geneva in 1977, new ideas at the international level on organizing the exchange of manpower, particularly the idea of establishing an international fund for the compensation of workers.

The Ministry of Labor has also appointed labor advisers in Kuwait and the UAE and it is expected that other advisers will be appointed in other countries in the future. These advisers act as liaison officers between the Jordanian workers and the Jordanian government agencies.

#### International Expert to Draw Up New Labor Bill

Dr Taysir 'Abd-al-Jabir adds that under the canopy of all these developments, the Ministry of Labor brought in an international expert from the International Labor Organization to draw up the bill for the Jordanian labor law. Dr (Man) [possibly 'Uthman] al-Jukhdar came to Jordan for this purpose in 1977, prepared the bill and referred it in its semi-final form to the Council of Ministers.

Out of its commitment to the principle of consultation with the other work parties--the workers and the businessmen--the Ministry of Labor also supplied these parties with copies of this labor bill and invited them to study the bill and to express whatever amendments and proposals they think reflect their interests, opinions and conditions.

These parties have actually begun to prepare their replies. The Ministry of Labor has already received a memorandum from the Federation of Jordanian Chambers of Commerce. Moreover, the General Federation of Jordanian Workers and the Amman Chamber of Industry are in the process of preparing their reply on the bill. The Ministry of Labor is currently studying this bill in detail through concerted and successive meetings.

After receiving all the replies, a meeting will be held to discuss and crystallize these replies. Dr al-Jukhdar, who drew up the said bill, will visit Jordan at the end of this month to participate in drawing up the final bill of the labor law.

#### New and Innovative Aspects in New Bill

Dr Taysir says that the most important aspects of the new bill are the new and innovated aspects which constitute with their contents a positive development in the current labor law.

In its definition of workers, the bill covers all workers, regardless of whether they work in an establishment with five workers or less. It also covers farm workers, considering that agricultural work generally has gained an organizational structure with characteristics that are not very remote from the other labor relationships. The bill includes financial benefits and improvements in the working conditions that surpass those contained in the current labor law. The most important of these benefits are:

Application of the social security law to the workers decreed to be covered by the new law. This will provide the workers with much better guarantees than those contained in the currently applied law.

The payment of end-of-service compensations.

Increasing the worker's annual vacation to 3 weeks instead of the 2 weeks stipulated by the current law.

Increasing the pregnancy and maternity leave for female workers to 12 weeks instead of the 6 weeks stipulated in the current law.

Protecting the worker insofar as the end-of-service notification is concerned. The current law provides for one month's notice whereas this notice will be extended by the new law to 2 months for any worker serving 5 or more years.

Protecting the worker against dismissal just for the purpose of organizing or re-organizing an establishment and placing restrictions on the use of this justification.

Giving the female worker the same benefits given to the male worker if she is equal to him in capability and carries out the same work that he does.

Increasing the worker's dues in overtime wages.

The labor bill also contains new inclinations concerning vocational training for the disabled and the possibility of committing establishments employing 50 or more workers to employ a certain percentage of vocationally trained disabled people.

There are also provisions concerning regulation of the employment of foreign workers, including those in the agricultural sector, and the regulation of the emigration of Jordanian workers to the outside world.

The bill also covers and deals in detail with the labor contracts, especially with the probation contract, vocational training and agricultural work.

The bill also provides guarantees for unionist liberties concerning the right of a worker enrolled in a union to carry out unionist action without being subjected to threats of expulsion or termination of services because of this action and the right to devote his full time to unionist action if the union's needs require it. The bill further gives a broad role to the unionist organizations to participate and express their opinion on various matters concerning the work situation and conditions.

Perhaps interest in this aspect will lead to enhancing the worker's interest in responsible unionist action on the one hand and having the businessmen re-examine their organization on the other hand so that sectoral organizations may be established for the various industries and activities in Jordan.

#### New Definitions

The undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor has also said that the bill is characterized by precise and comprehensive formulation of the various aspects with which it deals and the various sections it covers, such as employment, labor contracts--including individual contracts, probation contracts, agricultural probation contracts and collective work contracts--wages, period of work, vacations, employment of children and minors and the restrictions imposed on such employment, work organization, the vocational organizations of business owners and workers, the settlement of labor disputes and penalties.

#### Collective Interest in Bill

Answering a question, Dr Taysir said that he expects both sides--businessmen and workers--will devote great attention to the bill because it affects their life, their situation and their conditions. It is expected that each side will present its view on the detailed points in the bill and to defend this view in the joint meetings that will be held later.

**Law To Go Into Effect in Six Months**

Concluding the interview, Dr Taysir said that enough time must be given to the parties concerned to study the bill profoundly because it will govern the labor relations and regulate labor for long years to come.

Therefore, I expect the law to go into force after 6 months at the least and after it is put in its final form and approved by the official authorities concerned.

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CSO: 4802

23 MARS LEADER BENSAID DISCUSSES SAHARA PROBLEM

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 15-21 Oct 79 pp 22, 23

[Interview with Mohamed Bensaïd, a leader of 23 Mars Organization in Morocco: "To Be for the Moroccanism of the Sahara Is Not To Be for the King"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Beirut--A delegation of the "23 Mars" organization in Morocco, led by Mohamed Bensaïd, one of the organization's leaders, has recently visited Beirut to hold talks with leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement, the various organizations of the Lebanese national movement and representatives of the Arab liberation groups in Beirut. Members of the delegation explained the situation in the Western Sahara following recent developments. The 23 Mars organization's position on the Sahara problem is a distinctive one. The organization is the only "leftist" group in Morocco which does not recognize "the Saharan people's right to self-determination" without joining the democratic game and process which the other opposition organizations have joined after the eruption of the Saharan issue. AL-DUSTUR has interviewed Mohamed Bensaïd. The interview follows:

[Question] In your capacity as the representative of a leftist Moroccan organization, how do you justify your concurrence with the official Moroccan position on the question of the Western Sahara?

[Answer] We came here, to the Arab east, to hold a series of contacts with our brethren in the Arab liberation movement in order to acquaint them with the seriousness of the situation in the Arab west. We specifically came to explain the Moroccan people's viewpoint on the question of the Western Sahara and the implications of that question for the entire situation in the Arab Maghreb as well as its impact on the Arab cause in general. As to our position on the problem of the Western Sahara, permit us to say in reply to your question: our ears and nerves have become stealed by the frequency and repetitiveness of the accusations levelled at us in this connection.

To impugn our stand is sinful, indeed a criminal act. Some people see the Sahara problem as one involving a struggle between the regime in Morocco and a people in the Sahara who want independence. The conflict in the Arab west is not at all as simple as that. The problem is complex and thorny and we should therefore deal with it in a manner which measures up to its complexities and tangible, not presumed, implications. For 20 years, the Moroccan popular masses have been struggling with various military and political means to liberate the Moroccan territory occupied by the colonialists and to reincorporate them into the homeland as an integral, invisible part. This being the case, how can we then withdraw from this struggle simply because the Moroccan regime moved in 1975—because of its interests and position, of course—to regain those [Saharan] parts of the Moroccan soil? We have not been subjected to just one foreign colonization. Therefore, the independence battle has become closely intertwined with the battle of territorial integrity and unity in our modern national history.

#### A Polisario Victory?

[Question] The Polisario has scored two important victories recently. One was the resolution adopted by the African conference held in Monrovia, the other was the Algiers agreement between the Polisario and Mauritania. How do you view those two events and their impact on the situation in Morocco and on your position?

[Answer] Viewed from the perspective of the balances of struggle in the region, we consider the Monrovia resolution to have been a relative victory for the Polisario and Algeria. The resolution is not only an expression of a diplomatic position which favors self-determination. More significantly, it is the byproduct of a change in the general balance of political and military power. We believe that this partial victory is due to three important reasons:

One--The failure of the Moroccan regime's bet on winning the support of the West by presenting the struggle for the completion of Morocco's territorial integrity as one concurrently waged to stem the so-called "communist tide" in the region. This has deepened the isolation of Morocco and helped the front of adversaries present the issue to world public opinion as one of liberation from imperialist hegemony in the region. We believe that this bet has failed for obvious and simple reasons: the French and the Americans do not view the problem in this simplistic manner.

Two--The failure of the military passive defense plan. Because of fear generated by the experience of previous actions, the Moroccan regime restricted initiatives by the Sahara-based military commands and confined their major task to one of guarding cities and important economic sites. Otherwise, it has given license to the Polisario forces to roam and attack at will in the area. This has made it possible [for the Polisario forces] to utilize the gaps and loopholes in the Moroccan defense plan and make deep military thrusts into Morocco which have had widespread international impact and effect.

Three--The Moroccan regime's failure to strengthen and consolidate the internal front. There is no doubt that the deterioration of the economic situation and the attempt to restrict democratic freedoms have affected the battle of national steadfastness.

These, we believe, are the deep-seated reasons which explain the partial victory achieved by the Polisario at the Monrovia conference. We should not, however, conclude from that that we are on the road to defeat. Morocco still has the capabilities which can assure it of victory in its battle. The Saharan question is a national one. It is the cause of the popular masses more than it is the regime's cause. Added to this that Morocco commands human, material and military resources which would enable it to establish Moroccan sovereignty over the entire Western Sahara, provided that the national steadfastness program under which the Moroccan national and revolutionary movement is fighting is honored [by the regime].

As to the Algiers agreement under which Mauritania renounced its claim to the area of Tiris el-Gharbia in favor of the Polisario, it is our view that this agreement has not changed the substance of the conflict in the region inasmuch as it provided Mauritania with an outlet which could enable it to preserve its entity:

1--The substance of the conflict has not changed because the major party in the conflict has been and continues to be Morocco. Morocco is the political and military target in the Saharan conflict, but it is at the same time the real focus of political and military weight. Therefore, Mauritania's renunciation of its claims does not change the essence of the situation. Moroccan forces have been stationed in Mauritania itself. Without Moroccan military and administrative support it would have been impossible for Mauritania anyway to have retained control over Tiris el-Gharbia.

2--True enough, Mauritania's withdrawal from the conflict and its decision to sign the Algiers agreement were a definite loss for Morocco. There is absolutely no doubt in that. There is, however, a vast difference between Mauritania's abdication and Polisario's ability to make the Tiris area the birthplace of a Saharan state. Morocco was not facing several options but has also been facing one option: to forestall and thwart the birth of such a state which would not constitute a compromise solution. In fact, Morocco has decided the problem by retrieving the Tiris region (Rio de Oro).

3--The Algiers agreement provides Mauritania with an outlet designed to preserve the Mauritanian entity. The struggle over the Sahara has turned into a struggle within Mauritania itself which threatened its entity and unity. The Moroccan-Algerian struggle in the region is in one aspect a struggle over influence in Mauritania which has been eventually reflected in strife among the Mauritanian tribes vying for power, thus splitting them into pro-Moroccan and pro-Algerian stances. Added to this that Mauritania originally is afflicted by a conflict between its Arab citizens and its Senegal-backed negroid citizens. The Mauritanian state was originally established

on the principle that it was rich in iron ore. Therefore, any security threat which would jeopardize the ore mining center or paralyze the transport of iron ore exports along a 1,500 km-long railroad would paralyze Mauritania economically and push it to the brink of collapse.

We can thus see that the Algiers agreement, in its essence, was more or less an only outlet for the preservation of the safety, integrity and continuity of the Mauritanian entity. The Mauritanian leaders who signed the Algiers agreement were fully aware that they are actually incapable of maintaining control of the Tiris el-Gharbia area to insure its delivery to the Polisario. We, therefore, say quite accurately that Mauritania has bought peace with the Polisario and Algeria in return for a political victory only—a victory which extricates Mauritania from what it considers to be an embroilment in the Saharan problem and the predicament of alliance with Morocco. We believe that this change in attitude does not mean that Mauritania will throw itself into the laps of the other side or support it in practice. Mauritania's main concern is to save its skin in the Saharan war. Having learned a lesson from previous bitter experiences, Mauritania will at all times use whatever maneuverability it can command to remain neutral and to maintain stability at home within its own borders.

[Question] Judging from this analysis, you seem to be optimistic. But surely Morocco will face a difficult situation and may find it necessary, in the face of such a predicament, to strike a bargain which would bring to an end the tail-end effects of that serious conflict on its own situation.

[Answer] If we are to use the lexicon of optimism versus pessimism, then we are decidedly optimistic, for Morocco has fulfilled its complete solidarity over its Western Sahara. That does not mean, however, that we have thrown caution to the wind or that the road of cementing this sovereignty and forestalling the triumph of the secessionist scheme has become smooth and easy. We realize that Morocco faces a delicate situation internationally. The nonaligned conference will soon meet and the enemies of our territorial integrity will do the impossible to wrest a resolution similar to the Monrovia resolution. Should they manage to do so they will try the same thing at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly. In other words, we will face a difficult situation in the international arena at the same time in which military pressure will increase to many times its previous level. We will definitely face a delicate situation on that [military] level too. This is why we, as a revolutionary segment of the Moroccan national movement, emphasize that national steadfastness can only be achieved through the strengthening of the internal front by fulfilling the minimum demands contained in the present program of the national movement. This program can be summed up as follows:

One—Expansion of democratic freedoms by releasing all political detainees, allowing all exiles to return and recognizing the right of all citizens to self-expression, demonstration and organization.

Two--Fulfilling the urgent demands of the popular masses by increasing wages proportionally with the increase in prices and mounting a campaign of economic measures designed to ameliorate the worsening conditions of the people by means of making the affluent classes carry their share of the battle of liberation and territorial integrity.

The implementation of this program will clear the way for a tremendous evolution in the mass popular movement and the democratic and revolutionary forces of the people while simultaneously strengthening the domestic front and bolstering Morocco's ability to remain steadfast in its battle. With regard to possible bargains and deals, we actually do not exclude such an eventuality at all, but we do not believe that it is likely in the short range. To strike a deal requires that there be a minimal degree of common grounds on which all the parties concerned agree. We do not believe that such a situation is possible or likely in the present circumstances. The enemies of our territorial integrity find themselves in a good position. They are getting growing international support at the same time that they were able to break up the Mauritanian-Moroccan alliance. Moreover, they are exerting growing military pressure. Given all those advantages, it is unreasonable to expect them to accept a compromise when they believe that they can fully consummate their goals of setting up an entity in the entire Western Sahara. The Moroccan regime, therefore, finds itself compelled, in the context of the present conflict, to retrieve the entire Saharan area and to cling to all its cards lest it find itself in a situation of unavoidable defeat whose repercussions it cannot fully control.

[Inset containing biographical data about the interviewee, p 22]:

Mohamed Bensaid, 55, is a onetime leader of the "Moroccan Liberation Army" which, between 1956 and 1960, waged a people's liberation war against Spanish and French colonialism throughout the entire territory of Morocco, including the Western Sahara. He is a founder, with Mehdi Ben Barka and other Moroccan patriots, of the "National Federation of Popular Forces" party in 1956. He was expelled from it, however, in 1970 for political and ideological reasons. In 1970 the "23 Mars" organization broke away from the National Federation of Popular Forces. Mohamed Bensaid found himself sympathetic with and supportive to the trend established by the "23 Mars" organization and is presently one of its leaders.

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SHAYKH SAID TO HAVE OPTED FOR BAHRAINII METHOD TO SETTLE SUCCESSION ISSUE

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 16 Sep 79 p 6

[Article by 'Ali Hashim: "Qatar Solves 'Its Problem' in Bahraini Manner; Shaykh Suhaym ibn Hamad Al Thani Becomes Prime Minister and Shaykh Hamad ibn Khalifah Remains Crown Prince"]

[Text] Doha--Qatar has found a solution to its "family" problems but the main Gulf problem, i.e., the problem of oil and of protecting oil, is still the main preoccupation and concern.

After a period of what may be called a "coup" at the political level, Qatar now finds that the main concern preoccupying the mind of the ruler, Shaykh Khalifah ibn Hamad Al Thani--a concern which, in addition to the ruler, preoccupied the mind of the young Qataris--has ended.

AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI has learned from informed sources that the misunderstanding which existed between Shaykh Khalifah, the ruler, and his brother Shaykh Suhaym ibn Hamad Al Thani, the minister of foreign affairs, has vanished. Disagreement has erupted over the crown principship because Shaykh Suhaym considered himself more entitled to it than the other shaykhs of Al Thani. The issue of selecting a crown prince persisted for nearly 6 years until Shaykh Khalifah settled it by appointing his eldest son, Shaykh Hamad, the minister of defense and the armed forces commander, crown prince last summer.

At that time, the "misunderstanding" reached a far point between Shaykh Khalifah, the ruler, and his brother Shaykh Suhaym who blessed his brother's step but took a negative position toward the regime.

Shaykh Suhaym no longer reported to his office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He spent his time in his private "council" at his headquarters [presumably meaning residence] which is close to the amir's palace where he received his friends and visitors from among the Qatari ambassadors returning for vacation, businessmen and people with requests. But he did not engage in any official function and the state was forced to appoint Ahmad ibn Sayf Al Thani, the former Qatari ambassador in London, minister of state for foreign affairs to dispose of affairs concerning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to receive foreign ambassadors.

Shaykh Suhaym did not say a word and showed no objection. But deep in his heart, he felt that he, who supported his brother the ruler in his corrective movement against the late Shaykh Ahmad ibn 'Ali Al Thani, was more entitled to be the number two man in the state, in government and in running the country's affairs.

The Gulf area became aware of this "misunderstanding," especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which is closer to Qatar than others because of the tribal relationship between the two ruling families and of the Wahhabi creed that unites the peoples in both countries.

Saudi Arabia played a major role in the issue but it was not able to settle it. It was not able to impose the Saudi, Kuwaiti, Bahraini or the Abu Dhabi "solution" on the State of Qatar.

Neither Shaykh Khalifah, the ruler, nor Shaykh Suhaym agreed.

#### Kuwaiti Mediation

Then came the Kuwaiti mediation.

The concern of Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the Kuwaiti crown prince and prime minister, in the Gulf visit which he made 6 months ago was to solve the Qatari "regime's complex."

It was said at the time that he was successful. But he did not achieve 100 percent success. However, he opened the path of dialogue between the ruler of Qatar and his brother, even if only on the diplomatic luncheon and dinner tables.

But the issue remained "in a freeze."

Shaykh Suhaym continued to attend to his "council" and receive his visitors or spent his time in his farm in the north, on official visits to Bonn, Geneva and London or in "hunting" trips in the Syrian, Jordanian and Iraqi deserts.

## Gulf Sensitivity

He did not want to hear a word on the "issue," neither did his brother the ruler nor did any Qatari "with power."

Why?

The Gulf people are sensitive, they consider private issues and disagreements their "own" affairs and they want nobody to talk about these affairs "by virtue of their being" a family matter.

Insofar as they are concerned, anybody who is not from the Gulf is considered a stranger and a foreigner, even if he has lived all his life with them.

Finally

Finally, matters stirred in Qatar.

The Gulf solutions for rule are numerous.

In Saudi Arabia, the eldest brother rules and the second eldest is the crown prince.

In Kuwait, the story is different.

The family branches take turns, from Mubarak to Salim to Jabir and so forth.

In Bahrain, the rule has been based on having the eldest son as the crown prince, the eldest brother [after the ruler] as the prime minister, i.e., the man with the power.

In Abu Dhabi and the other emirates, the eldest son is the crown prince.

In Abu Dhabi, Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayid is Shaykh Zayid's crown prince.

In Dubai, Shaykh Maktum ibn Rashid is Shaykh Rashid's crown prince.

In Ajman, Shaykh Hamid ibn Rashid al-Nu'aymi is Shaykh Rashid al-Nu'aymi's crown prince.

In Ras al-Khaimah, Shaykh Khalid ibn Saqr al-Qasimi is Shaykh Saqr's crown prince.

In Umm al-Qaiwayn, the story is the same.

There remains Sharjah where the balance has been upset because its former ruler, Shaykh Khalid ibn Muhammad al-Qasimi, was assassinated when he did not have sons of age to rule. So his brother Shaykh Sultan al-Qasimi, a graduate of the School of Agriculture of 'Ayn Shams University, was selected ruler.

In the Sultanate of Oman, Sultan Qabous, who was a student at the British Sandhurst Military College, led a coup against his father Sultan Sa'id because the Sultanate could no longer accept a rule like his and its people could no longer accept systems of government dating back to the stone age.

#### Bahraini Solution

What is the solution to the misunderstanding in Qatar?

Shaykh Khalifah did not select the Saudi method whereby one brother succeeds another, and neither did he choose the Kuwaiti method.

So the solution came in the Bahraini way whereby the oldest son is the crown prince and the oldest brother the prime minister.

In a while, amir decrees will be issued in Doha appointing Shaykh Suhaym ibn Hamad Al Thani prime minister.

The cabinet will remain as it is, with a slight change in membership.

I opened the subject with Shaykh Suhaym, whom I met at his council, but he smiled and disclosed nothing. He said: Ask the information people.

I also opened the issue with his brother Shaykh Nasir ibn Hamad Al Thani and he smiled and said: This is a matter that concerns the shaykhs.

The time of Shaykh Khalifah ibn Hamad Al Thani, the ruler, is filled with official visits and the director of his office, the minister of information, is absent and there is no answer for any question.

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CSO: 4802

OPPOSITION LEADER REJECTS COMPROMISE WITH NUMAYRI

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 25 Sep 79 p 10

[Interview with Sharif al-Hindi, leader of Sudanese Democratic Federation opposition party, by Mustafa Karkuti; in London, date not given: "Sharif al-Hindi Tells AL-SAFIR: 'No Reconciliation With Numayri; We Are Working To Build a National Opposition Front; Sadat Realizes Israel's Dream by Transporting the Nile Water to the Negev'"]

[Text] Sudanese opposition leader Sharif Husayn al-Hindi, head of the Sudanese Democratic Federation Party, has declared "war" on the regime of President Ja'far Numayri. His party and other Sudanese opposition parties have attempted a reconciliation with Numayri twice during the past 10 years. However, Al-Hindi declares that "the doors to discussion with the regime are now closed."

AL-SAFIR met with Sharif al-Hindi and covered various questions with him.

In reference to his party's declaration that the Sudanese regime must be overthrown, Sharif al-Hindi says: "This is not a new position but it has been a constant one since 1969, since the first hour, the first day, the first month of this regime." He adds that the Democratic Federation Party feels that this regime "in its origins differs from the aspirations of the Sudanese people. We have opposed this regime by various methods from the very beginning, and our opposition has continued, taking various political, informational and popular forms (demonstration, strikes, etc.) in addition to armed opposition (armed clashes)."

[Question] What about the attempts at compromise during this period? Didn't they lessen the intensity of the disputes?

[Answer] At the end of 1978, the opposition was represented by the National Front in its old form, which included the Democratic Federation and Ummah parties, the Moslem Brotherhood and other independent groups from southern and western Sudan. An initiative by the regime was called national compromise and national unity, and those concerned felt that it was inappropriate to reject a call for peace, on the basis that we have a cause and do not want to overthrow the regime just to remove it.

The regime itself is dictatorial, fascist and closed. It does not allow public freedoms, does not represent the independent will of the masses, and its foreign policy does not represent national aspirations. In addition, its economic policy does not represent the movement of expansion and economic and social reconstruction which the Sudanese people hope to achieve. Because of all of this, we oppose the regime.

However, in spite of that, the National Front went along with the compromise, which was based on a conversation between Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and President Ja'far Numayri, and it seemed to be based on the personal desires and ambitions of both. The compromise began, but it did not address the Sudanese people and their national aspirations. Therefore, we got out of that reconciliation, which lasted no more than 2 months. It actually crashed before everyone. However, the other forces which had formed the National Front with us joined the regime, except for those from the Moslem Brotherhood, who had taken cabinet posts and high positions in various organizations, as did Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and we too. We remained in opposition, and the compromise crumbled because of the absence of the basic popular and mass element.

As for the second compromise attempt, which took place in May 1978 in London, the regime sent a delegation to negotiations which led to the signing of a pact between us and the regime. The pact did not contain all of our demands, but it did contain the basic essence of our desires, such as the democratic freedoms: the freedom of publication, expression and thought; freedom of assembly; and the independence of the law and defining the law; in addition to foreign policy defined as national and originating from an unsubmissive policy concentrating on the basic question, that of Palestine. This compromise pact also included economic programs to fight inflation, corruption, and manifestations of luxury in order to create a balance and to develop the Sudanese economy.

Only a few months passed until we noticed that Numayri was changing his mind about what he had signed and had agreed to. We realized that the regime believed that by agreeing to the treaty it had ended and gotten rid of the opposition. Thus, the reconciliation did not last long, because the regime insisted on eliminating opposition in all forms both at home and abroad. After these two experiments at peace with the regime failed and the regime's trick was exposed, the opposition intensified and emotions reached the boiling point. When we say that this regime will fall, we mean that; but we are not wagering on any time, since it will be brought by popular struggle, which decides when and how the regime will fall. We follow this path which has its ups and downs. We believe that we will triumph.

[Question] We asked Sharif al-Hindi for more details.

[Answer] We believe that the regime in Sudan has already fallen. If we view regimes not on the strength of their existence but on the basis of the elements of their survival, we see that this regime has lost all of

the necessities for survival, whether they be economic, political, social or even administrative. Consequently, it is a regime which has fallen, and the people are waiting and counting the days and hours until this regime takes its last breath. We measure the regime's ability to survive and continue by observing its performance in various sectors.

#### Doors to Dialog

[Question] If we assumed that circumstances existed similar to or better than those in which the two previous reconciliation attempts took place, could we see the possibility of reopening the doors to a dialog between you and Numayri, or are these doors completely closed now?

[Answer] For our part, I do not believe that we could accept or participate in a dialog. The circumstances of the two previous attempts are different from the circumstances which now prevail in the political arena in Sudan. In addition, we are fully aware that this regime has no intention of participating in any negotiation which would produce real or radical improvement in the situation on the national or nationalist level. By studying views and sending envoys, which happens constantly, the regime intends to buy time and dissolve the Sudanese popular movement. The regime has absolutely no desire to alter its form or its structure, which have now become reprehensible--not only are its practices reprehensible but also its structure and makeup. The regime has become unacceptable to the masses; therefore, if we now accept any talk without a compromise, then this acceptance would be individually and personally one of its specific desires. Thus, we accept no negotiations with the regime.

We oppose this regime in principle and fundamentally, and we can accept only its complete removal.

#### Military Overthrow

[Question] What prevents the occurrence of change or the regime's removal; and is military coup--as a method of change--still a possibility for bringing about change in Sudan?

[Answer] Many regimes exist in the world in spite of their people. For example, a revolution occurred in Iran in 1953 under the leadership of Mossadegh, but it was wiped out after a brief period. However, this revolution remained closeted in the souls of the Iranians and the Iranian opposition for more than 20 years. Later, this revolution emerged on the streets in various forms. It began with individuals and small groups and spread to hundreds and thousands, rising and falling until it was victorious. Throughout this period the regime ruled in Iran. Note that it was more powerful than the Sudanese regime in its army, its money, its reputation, its foreign connections, etc. People believed that this regime would not fall, but it did.

As for a military coup, anything is possible. I can't rule out anything, from military coup, to riots, civil war, secession, -- the overthrow of the regime by popular or by other methods; all of these possibilities now exist every day.

[Question] But don't you believe that these possibilities or others might expose the Sudanese nationalist movement and Sudan itself to a very serious situation?

[Answer] The organized opposition can prevent all of these dangers and end up with a regime which averts and stops all of these dangers, but the possibility of military overthrow is present and obvious.

[Question] If the situation in Sudan has deteriorated this far, and if the dangers to which the country could be exposed are of this magnitude, what prevents the existence of an organized and planned opposition, including the Democratic Federation Party, the Ummah Party and the Communist Party, in addition to the Moslem Brotherhood?

[Answer] This front essentially does exist, but perhaps it does not have written and publicized programs. The popular opposition now within Sudan is carried on by the masses in all of their groups, organizing in the Democratic Federation Party, the Communist Party and the Ba'th Party and the majority of the Ansar and the Ummah Party, in addition to a large part of the Moslem Brotherhood and the southerners and a large number of the sons of western Sudan. This front has no written or publicized programs, but the administration and coordination in two arenas against the regime in the form of demonstrations or strikes are carried out by Sudanese popular consensus under the leadership of the political organizations to which I referred. There is a true front directing this battle, and, although it is not openly reported, there is agreement about it and coordination in its work at home and abroad.

[Question] Have there been any attempts since the recent uprising in Sudan to begin talks among the opposition groups to organize themselves and draw up a program of action?

[Answer] These attempts are continuous, and there are continuing meetings at home and abroad to give practical expression to the progressive front. In spite of that, we are all agreed on the removal of this regime, and everyone is working to achieve this goal, whatever their political inclinations may be. I must mention that there is a tireless effort to draw up detailed plans with time schedules for the period preceding the end of the regime and the period following it.

#### Interdependence--and Axis

[Question] We shifted the conversation to Egyptian-Sudanese relations and asked Sharif al-Hindi whether he believes there is any "strategic dimension"

or whether the question is limited to one regime supporting the other and vice versa.

[Answer] [I see] a basis for interdependence in the context of an Arab economic interdependence, which can include Egypt, Sudan and the rest of the Arab states. There cannot be interdependence between two countries only. What exists between Egypt and Sudan is another facet of their joint defense agreement, which in itself is an agreement to protect their regimes. Sadat and Numayri drew up this agreement to protect their regimes from the people of Egypt and Sudan. As for the so-called "economic interdependence" program, it is only a slogan since no development project has yet been implemented in accordance with this agreement. All of the projects which have been attempted in the south failed and encountered opposition from the citizens, especially the (Junaqli) Canal, which the people rejected because they had no confidence in this project. These feelings were confirmed after Sadat announced during his recent visit to Haifa that the waters of the Nile would be carried by this canal to the Israeli Negev Desert.

The dream of the Israelis is to reach the Nile and the Euphrates; and, while Sadat is not realizing this wish for them, he is taking the Nile to them. It appears that this was the hidden secret behind the (Junaqli) Canal agreement to increase the water levels, which we do not believe would be used to irrigate Sudanese, Egyptian or any other Arab land.

[Question] After Camp David, Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat withdrew Egypt from the front of the Arab east and transferred it to the Arab west, this time not to support the liberation movements there but to support and protect the regime of Morocco's King Hassan. Do you believe that in the near future we may see a Numayri-Sadat-Hassan axis aligned in one front against the liberation movements and nationalist governments in North Africa?

[Answer] The Camp David agreement expelled Egypt, with its economic, military, population, and cultural strength, from the Arab cause. It is most important that we oppose the Numayri regime because it was the only Arab regime which supported, and still supports, the agreement, in spite of attempts by some to dissuade it. Since the last summit conference in Baghdad, Sadat wants to strengthen his influence in the region. Thus, it is not surprising that this man should turn from the east to the Arab Maghreb because he has become an ally of Israel, and whoever is an ally of Israel is willing to invent any discord in the Arab region. There is no doubt that he is sending arms to Morocco and Sudan, and he is also willing to create an axis in the Maghreb.

Sadat is now attempting to break the vehemence of the Arab resistance, which is represented in the resolutions of the rejection and steadfastness front and the summit conference. Sadat is working to damage internal unity in every Arab country and prevent any coordination between any Arab countries.

## Democratic Freedoms

[Question] The president of the Sudanese Democratic Federation says that Sudan, like most of the Arab governments, is practicing repression and abolishing democratic freedoms, whether they are political or intellectual. We asked him for his opinion about this widespread phenomenon in the Arab nation where hundreds have been arrested and thrown into prison without trial.

[Answer] Our position is clear. We have declared it on many occasions, the most recent of which was the General Conference of the Arab People. We demand the application of all democratic freedoms: the freedoms of publication, expression, thought and political parties. We demand the independence and sanctity of the law and respect for the Arab citizen, by removing occasions of danger from the Arab nation. Also, we demand the application of the freedoms of the Arab individual. We believe that the subjugated and imprisoned individual who listens only to what is broadcast to him and reads only what is written for him cannot achieve any victory. Health and well-being are represented in the complete and intellectually liberated individual. As long as democratic freedoms are not applied in all parts of the Arab nation, we cannot win in our cause against Israel, which we are fighting as a civilization and a nation. If the Arab citizen is not free, he cannot defend the nation or society. What can I defend if I am subjugated and imprisoned in my nation, my home and my country, and so are my father and my brother, for whom I am fighting? The first and most basic thing which the individual is fighting for is to be free, before he wages any other war.

The issue of democratic freedoms is our basic cause against the Sudanese regime and any other similar regime. We are fighting to restore our freedom and the freedom of any other oppressed people in the Arab region.

[Question] We discuss Sudan again and ask what led Numayri to dismiss his former deputy, Abu al-Qasim Ibrahim, who was one of the supporters of the regime.

[Answer] It is true that Abu al-Qasim was one of Numayri's colleagues. He participated in the May uprising, and he remained a colleague for 10 years. It could not be said that Abu al-Qasim committed any mistake without Numayri knowing it. There was no political reason to discard Abu al-Qasim, nor can we say that the regime was good because of Abu al-Qasim's presence or that it is deteriorating or "going since his departure. What happened is that Abu al-Qasim was offered as a sacrifice, since no one was aware of the existence of basic differences between the two men. All of the dirty tricks of which Abu al-Qasim is now accused are tricks in which Numayri himself participated.

Numayri has offered sacrifices over the years to prolong the life of his regime, and now the Numayri May group has come to an end and he has no

more colleagues left. Whenever he sees strong opposition moving in his direction, Namayri offers its sacrifices in order to say that the one responsible for failure was this or that man, this or that organization, etc. Numayri threw Abu al-Qasim's body because he saw mass upheavals marching toward him. He bought some time by diverting them.

[Question] What led you to manage or participate in the management of the weekly magazine AL-DUSTUR, and what goals do you believe AL-DUSTUR will achieve?

[Answer] I do not own AL-DUSTUR. I am not its chairman of the board, nor am I its supervisor in any way. The magazine AL-DUSTUR is a part of the Arab revolutionary media and the media of the Sudanese opposition movement to this reactionary fascist regime or to any other fascist regime in Sudan. It is an independent magazine serving the goals of the progressive Arab revolution and the Sudanese popular opposition. If anything controls its ownership, it is all of these goals. AL-DUSTUR is an addition to the progressive free press in the Arab region, for it does not belong to a party nor is it mouthpiece for any other, in Sudan or elsewhere.

[Question] Will we see the pages of AL-DUSTUR open to all democratic nationalist views, then?

[Answer] I assure you of that. I personally am not in charge of editing it, but I want to say that if I had any say in AL-DUSTUR, it would be to say, "State your opinion;" and I insist on it. It is an addition to progressive democratic Arab thought in the Arab region, and it is open to these views. We, as the popular Sudanese opposition, take from it only what we took from it voluntarily before.

7587  
CSO: 4802

SUDAN

BRIEFS

DETAINEE LIST—AL-SAFIR has obtained the first list of the names of 33 political prisoners in Sudanese prisons and has learned that there are "hundreds of detainees from the progressive democratic forces," most of them in the notorious "(Kubar)" Prison. It is estimated that there are about 400 detainees. It is well known that the arrest campaign began more than 2 months ago and reached its peak last August. Sources say that the campaign is concentrated basically on the progressive union elements because "the unions oppose the laws restricting freedoms and the so-called leaders supported by the authority, through the recent worker and student demonstrations. The following is a list of prominent unionists who have been detained: Hasan Qasam al-Sayyid, former secretary of the Civil Servants Union, arrested upon his arrival at Khartoum Airport on 11 Aug 79; Ahmad Habib, secretary of the Union of Employees of Khartoum University; Salman Hamid, unionist and member of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee; Khalil Ilyas, former secretary of the Sudanese Youth Federation; Sabri Jusur, member of the secretariat of the Youth Federation; Dr Hamed Sulayman, former secretary of the Union of the Higher Teachers Institute; Mukhtar 'Abdallah, unionist; Yusuf Husayn, member of the central committee; Qasim Amin, well known labor leader; Muhammad Sa'id al-Qadhal, member of the Teachers Union; Mahbub Sharif, poet; Mahbub Sayyid Ahmad, unionist; 'Abd al-Qadir al-Rifa'i, from the Farmers Union; 'Abd al-Qadir Sayyid Ahmad, secretary of the Printers Union; Sayyid Taha, from the Teachers Union; Al-Sirr al-Majib, unionist; Sa'udi Daraj, unionist; 'Ali al-Milhi, chairman of the board of the Foundry Workers Union; Salim Abu Shushah, member of the board of the Textile Workers Union; Mahjub 'Uthman Nadi, unionist; Muhammad Sulayman Fadur, unionist; 'Abbas 'Ali, Teachers Union; 'Awad 'Abd al-Majid, secretary of the board of the Plastics Workers Union; 'Uthman al-Khadir; Kamal al-'Azuli; Hamzah Zawraq; Badr al-Din 'Abd al-Tam; al-Fatih al-Rashid; Sa'iq ablu; Bashir Ilyas; Muhammad Murad; 'Abd al-Fattah Zaydan; As'ad al-Zab'r. [Text] [Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 4 Sep 79 p 1] 7587

CSO: 4802

SAVINGS ENCOURAGED, LOAN SERVICES EXPANDED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 4 Sep 79 p 2

[Article: "People's Savings And Loans: New Measures Will Soon Be Taken To Encourage Savings By the People; Loan Services Will Be Expanded and the Ceilings On Loans Will Be Raised"]

[Text] New measures are to be taken to encourage the people to save.

TISHRIN has learned from reliable sources that the cabinet heads have agreed to raise the interest on investment certificates and to abolish time requirements for deposits.

Banking circles have interpreted these measures as being deeply rooted in respect for the financial status of the People's Loan Bank, and as strengthening the confidence of its depositors.

The new measures will raise the interest rate on investment certificates from 8 percent to 9 percent, and decrease the period of deposit from 10 years to 5 years.

The People's Loan Bank is currently finalizing studies on implementing the new measures and reorganizing their accounts in accordance with the new advantages and facilitations so as to coordinate them with the old provisions.

In a statement to TISHRIN, Mr Muhammad al-Kasam, director general of the People's Loan Bank, noted the eight-fold increase in the bank's deposits during the last 6 years, as well as the six-fold increase in amounts invested during the same period.

He added: "Sales of investment certificates amounted to 600 million Syrian pounds (LS) last year, while they did not exceed LS 300 million in 1977."

He emphasized that all types of deposits at the People's Loan Bank are tax exempt.

He pointed out that the bank has opened a number of branches in the provinces to facilitate the acceptance of the masses' savings and to increase its loan-related services.

Concerning the expansion of the bank's services in the area of lending to the people, Mr al-Kasam noted an increase in the figures for credit extended to persons with limited income from LS 12 million to LS 80 million. He stated that the bank had invested LS 150 million in persons of limited income in the form of loans. He added that the bank had recently participated in the construction of numerous hospitals and tourist facilities in the provinces and that it had participated specifically in financing the Damar Housing Project.

It should be noted that the system of popular saving and loan has been modified so as to be characterized by flexibility and comprehensiveness. The ceilings on loans were numbered and special facilitations have been given to specialists and regular doctors, engineers, pharmacists, dentists, and medical researchers inasmuch as they have been exempted from filing the financial sheet.

The personal surety for granting them loans has been set at a minimum of 25,000 Syrian pounds for regular doctors and 50,000 pounds for specialists. This is to encourage the opening and equipping of clinics and research facilities, and to stem the brain-drain. These modifications have facilitated the establishment of hospitals and tourist facilities.

Small manufacturers and professionals also have a share in the facilitations and the increased loans inasmuch as the ceiling on loans has risen from 100,000 to 150,000 pounds.

The branches have been given broad powers to help them quickly reach a decision on applications, to save time and effort and to simplify measures.

9123  
CSO: 4802

REPORT GIVEN ON NEW DAM PROJECT

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 7 Sep 79 p 2

[Article: "The Nahr al-Kabir Northern Dam Is Progressing on the Road to Implementation; The Project Is a Huge Economic Installation Equivalent to the Euphrates Installation"]

[Text] The Nahr al-Kabir northern dam project which is underway in Latakia has progressed on the road to implementation. The investigative work, the field and laboratory experiments and the preparation of preliminary designs for this vital project began in April 1975 and were completed in June 1978. The project is expected to be completed at the end of next year. It will irrigate the surrounding plains for an expanse of 14,000 hectares.

To find out about the horizons and features of this work TISHRIN visited the territory of the project accompanied by Engineer 'Ala'-al-Din Sulayman, director of the project. From close up he informed us about the current progress of the dam project. In the field in their natural surroundings we witnessed the various stages that have been completed in this area.

Engineer 'Ala'-al-Din Sulayman defined the completed stages as follows:

At the beginning of 1979 research work on all of the designs was concluded and the necessary modifications to the project were made. The plans for implementation were completed, as well as the specifications and technical requirements for implementing most parts of it.

During the first half of this year the land needed for the dam's installations--land which will be submerged by the lake created the dam, which covers 11 square km--was appropriated.

Engineer Sulayman emphasized that the authority's administration would make every effort to pay the owners of the land appropriated for the projects its [full] value during the next few weeks. When these appropriations are concluded various sections and stages of the project will begin.

Concerning the other stages of work that have been completed, Eng Sulayman said that the stage of preparing the contracts for implementation with

the Soviets to provide technical assistance for the project has been completed. The contract to perform concrete work in the canal to divert the course of the river has been ratified with the State Irrigation Company (SARICO) for 56,000 square meters of reinforced concrete. This is one of the most important fundamental jobs in the project and implementation of the rest of the project depends on completion of this job.

A contract has also been concluded with a specialist foreign company to construct the leak-preventing walls in the dam's foundations, the depth of which is 40 meters below the riverbed. It is the second fundamental job which must be completed before covering the body of the dam can be begun.

With regard to the jobs which will be undertaken by the project administration, Eng Sulayman said that it is the responsibility of the administration to construct both the front and rear of the diversion dam and the support earth mounds between these two sides so as to close off the course of the river and divert it into the diversion canal. This will be accomplished by the end of next year after completion of the leak-preventing wall in the foundations of the dam as well as the concrete of the diversion canal. Then the first basic stage in the dam construction project will be completed. It will be directly followed by the stage comprised of construction of earth mounds supporting the body of the dam. Construction of these mounds will take a year and several months. Then the difficult and complicated technical work in the project will have been completed. The State Organization for Major Projects has finished the excavations on the right and left banks of the river which are necessary to support the body of the dam. It has also nearly completed the excavations of the irrigation source. In the second half of this year excavations on the canal for discharging flood water will follow.

All of this work has been done by equipment imported in accordance with the Soviet contract and the fruitful technical cooperation between the Syrian engineers working in the organization and the Soviet engineers and experts.

In addition to that the organization's workshops have prepared areas required for workshops for dam construction, the temporary roads necessary for work, centers for the construction of awnings and warehouses, and the centers to supply the dam with electric power and potable water.

The State Irrigation Company, (SARICO), has also completed excavation of the canal to divert the course of the river. It has made preparations to begin work on pouring the concrete in this canal this September. The State Road Company (ROADCO) has finished construction of the land-fill for Road No One which connects the dam and the Aleppo-Latakia Highway.

The total cost of the project has been estimated to be LS 230 million, based on 1976 prices. However, the unforeseen increase during recent years in the price of raw materials, fuel, tools, machinery, equipment and labor costs will certainly cause the estimated cost of this project to rise.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the large gains which the national economy will reap through the training of human cadres and the development of technical experts will be made through agreements on scientific, technical and economic cooperation concluded with the Soviet Union. This unforeseen increase in the cost of materials is not equal to the costs and wages in the rest of the specializations and the engineering, technical and mechanical jobs which are included in the project. Concerning the obstacles and difficulties facing the course of work on the project Eng Sulayman said: "During the first half of this year it has been possible to overcome all of the technical, contractual and legal difficulties, including the appropriation, which stood in the way of implementing certain parts of the project. This past July, the beginning of the second half of this year, is considered the starting point in the implementation of this project to construct the dam in accordance with the plans' and programs' predetermined schedules.

Eng Sulayman added, "The number of workers in the project in the various areas of specialization is about 450 laborers and technicians. This figure will rise with the progress and the effect of the work in the sections of the project. A large number of them gained their experience working during the study and investigation stage. Some of them gained this technical experience from their work on the Euphrates dam project and the other irrigation projects in the country. There is no lack of technical competence.

It should be noted that the project consists of the construction of an earthen dam on the northern Nahr al-Kabir approximately 20 km northeast of Latakia. It is close to the Khan 'Atallah Bridge, and 40 a 7 km long tunnel which brings water from the dam's reservoir to the plain north of the city. It is the clay type. Its greatest height is 52 meters, its length at the summit is 856 meters, and its greatest depth for preventing leaks is 38 meters.

This dam will form a lake behind it 11 km long with an area of 11 square km. Its storage capacity will be 207 million cubic meters of water.

The goal of the project is to store water from the northern Nahr al-Kabir instead of having it flow uselessly to the river mouth at the sea. Another object is to regulate the flow of the river and to irrigate a plains area of 14,000 hectares situated among the coastal plain north of Latakia, the riverbed plain, the hill and the 'Ayn al-'Arus plain in the north.

Along the extent of the irrigation network in the dam region 38 villages will spring up. They will be linked by communications routes, and electricity and telephone networks. Their land is fertile and suitable in most districts for the cultivation of citrus fruits, which makes this project economically very important.

In addition, there is the potential for utilizing the lake water formed by the dam to ensure a reserve source of water for industrial purposes and for drinking water for the city of Latakia.

The main dimensions of the installations are as follows:

Various landfill: 3 million cubic meters.

Various excavations: 2.5 million cubic meters.

Reinforced concrete: 150,000 cubic meters.

Rock coverings for the front and rear surfaces of the dam: 130,000 cubic meters.

This is in addition to the mining equipment and facilities for the irrigation and discharge gates weighing approximately 700 tons.

The Higher Planning Committee has decided to construct the dam directly through the Syrian Implementation Board with the help of experts and equipment from the Soviets and in accordance with procedures followed in the Euphrates dam.

A public sector company has been commissioned to construct the irrigation network because that is a familiar job in our country, while taking advantage of the Soviet offer to purchase some of the materials needed for implementation, and to assist by providing some experts to supervise. Implementation of this network has begun. It is expected to be completed in 1982.

9123

CSO: 4802

SYRIA

BRIEFS

NEW CANAL--Aleppo--SANA--The Military Housing Authority recently began digging the third canal within the project to irrigate Aleppo and convey Euphrates water there. The length of this new canal from the river to the city of Aleppo is approximately 80 km. This was announced by the engineer who is the director of branch No three of the Military Housing Authority. He said that the canal excavations would be followed by the installation of large concrete water mains within the canal. This authority has reached an agreement with a German company to import a special plant to manufacture these water mains locally to expedite the completion of this irrigation project. He said that the value of the contract for this plant is approximately 18 million Syrian pounds. It is expected to arrive in Aleppo at the beginning of next year. Its equipment and installations will be installed over a 2-month period. He added, "The preliminary work towards obtaining this plant is now underway. The installations subordinate to it will be equipped by the tractor factory. The tractors will install the plant's machinery in these facilities, which are in a large area of land purchased by the Military Housing Authority for these installations." He said that the entire [cost of the] third project's canal amounted to 110 million Syrian pounds. It will have the capacity to convey 220,000 cubic meters of water daily, which is greater than the total capacity of the first and second stages of the project to deliver Euphrates water to Aleppo, which amounts to 180,000 cubic meters per day. [Text] [Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 5 Sep 79 p 4] 9123

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